

Shuswap History:

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The First 100 years of Contact



offey, E. Goldstrom, G. Gottfriedson, R. Matthew, and P. Walton

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Shuswap History:

The First 100 Years of Contact

John Coffey
Ed Goldstrom
Garry Gottfriedson
Robert Matthew
Patrick Walton

Secwepemc Cultural Education Society
Kamloops, British Columbia



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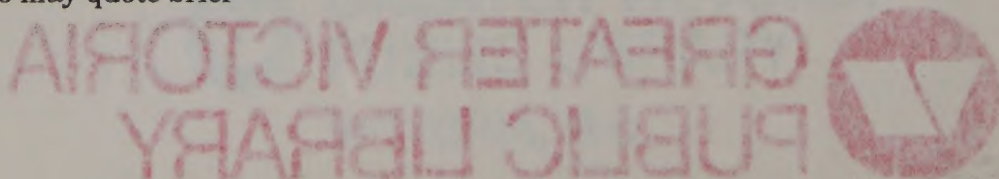
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Foreword

This book is the first part of the Shuswap High School Studies program. The program was developed by the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society. This book would not be possible without the assistance of many people and agencies.

In 1985, Rita Jack outlined twenty themes for research. Peter Michel and Monty Palmantier assisted me in researching the topics. Annabel Crop Eared Wolf was the first writer involved in the first phase of the project.

The task of further curriculum development fell to a second team of writers, Ed Goldstrom, John Coffey, Garry Gottfriedson, Pat Walton and myself.

The result is this book.

Robert Matthew

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Introduction

In the beginning, the world was created by a powerful being, known as the “Old One.” He travelled the land creating the mountains, lakes, streams, everything. He left, but the task of creating the world was not complete. The Old One sent his helper Coyote, to make it right. Coyote had many encounters with plants, animals and people. Each time, the world was changed, making it a better place to live. Coyote could transform himself into anything he desired. Many of his adventures ended in disaster or death, but Coyote had magical powers and always came back to life.

Historically, the Shuswap people lived a good life. They lived in harmony with the land, using nature in a way which would not result in damage to the environment. Respect for the land was shown through conservation. Birch bark was only taken in the spring, when the outer bark could be removed without killing the tree. When animals were taken for food and clothing, nothing was wasted. During the year, the Shuswap followed a seasonal cycle. In the spring, fish were caught and berries were picked. Late summer saw all the communities fishing along the Fraser and Thompson Rivers. While the youth speared or netted the salmon, the older men went to the mountains to hunt moose and deer.

The balanced lifestyle depended on traditional Indian skills and knowledge handed down through the ages by word of mouth. This all changed with the appearance of the fur traders, missionaries, gold miners and settlers.

The first fur traders caused changes that were hardly noticeable. Alexander Mackenzie explored the northern Shuswap territory with the help of Shuswap guides in 1793. In 1811, David Stuart of the Pacific Fur Company arrived in Shuswap Territory. He employed Indians as trappers and guides. The Indians also provided winter food, primarily salmon, to the trading posts. For the first few decades of contact, the traditional Indian knowledge guaranteed the Shuswaps an equal place in the fur trade economy.

The relationship that was mutually beneficial and peaceful became unbalanced with the decline of the fur trade. To further compound the difficulties, gold was discovered along the Thompson and Fraser rivers. By 1858, the news had spread and American gold miners had invaded Shuswap Territory. They not only brought new ideas about

exploiting the land, but also diseases. The 30,000 miners drove the Indians from the rivers and prevented the annual salmon fishing.

In 1862, a severe epidemic of smallpox hit the Shuswap Nation, wiping out thirteen villages. The 17 Bands that now exist represent the survivors. The shift in population balance between Indians and whites meant that power and control was now in the hands of the newcomers.

Around the same time, the Hudson's Bay Company's charter to the mainland was revoked and British Crown authority was established to maintain order and regulate settlement. The gold rush hastened the process of colonization. The settlers claimed the land and Indians were soon seen as obstacles to progress. The age of tolerance and equality between Indian and white had come to an end.

Racial discrimination practiced by miners, missionaries and settlers inflicted long lasting damage in the Shuswap's ability to live a balanced life.

The new intolerant Victorian ideas brought by immigrants were reflected in government policy. One policy was to "educate and civilize" Indian people according to British standards.

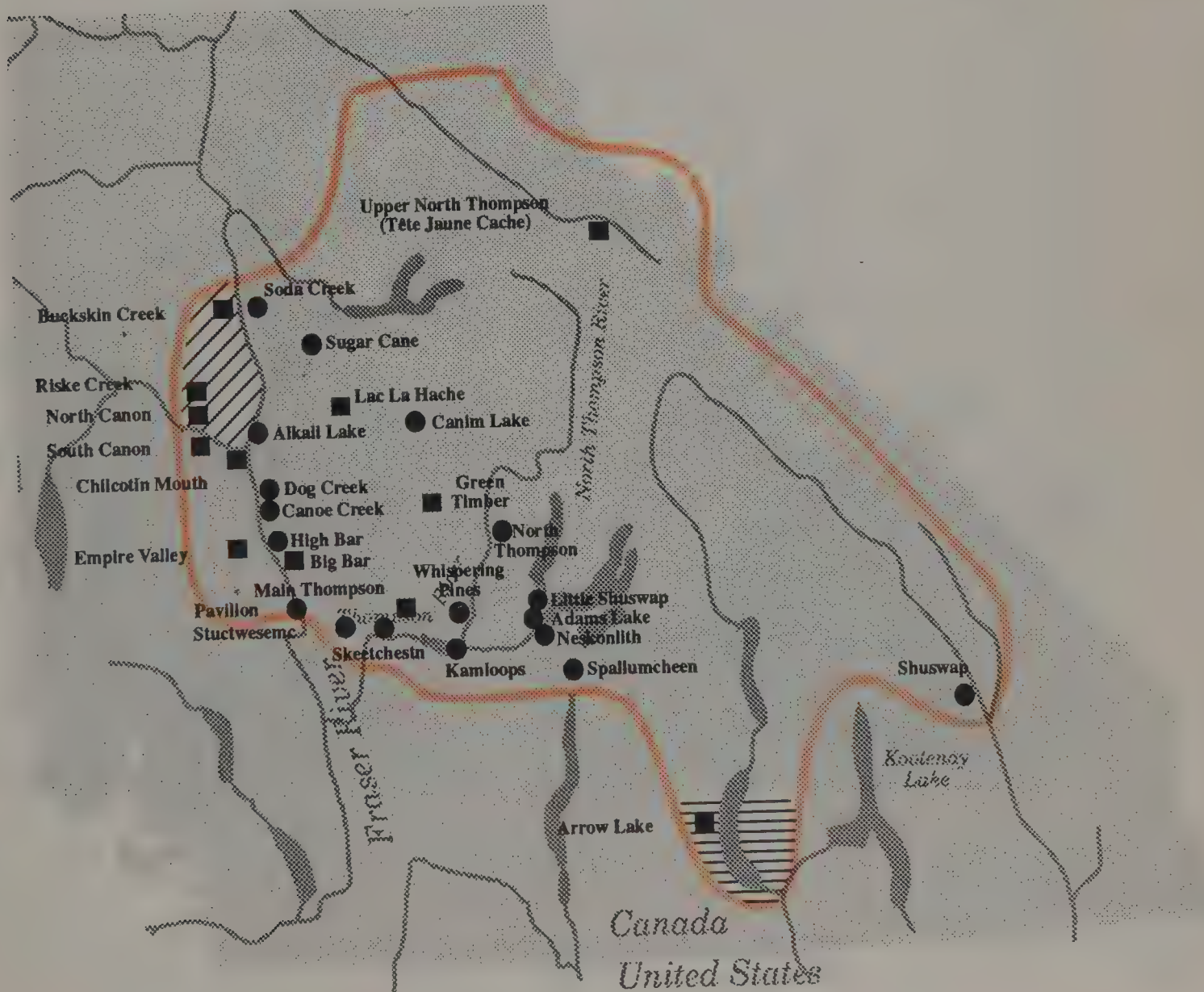
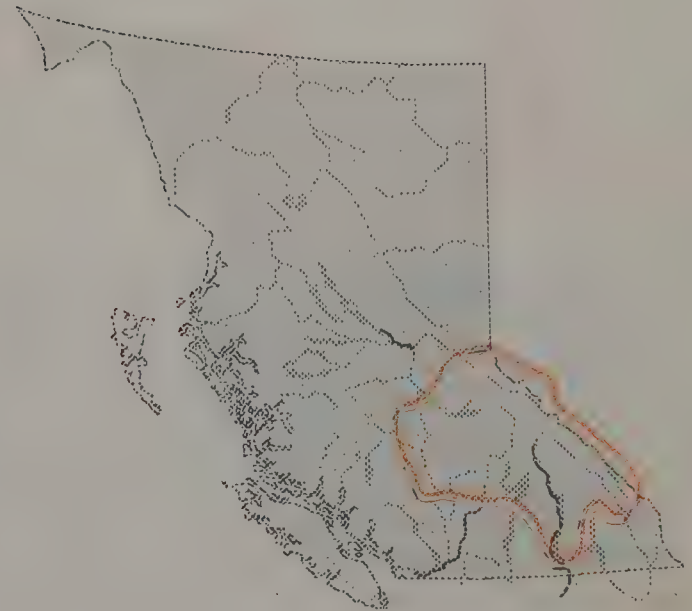
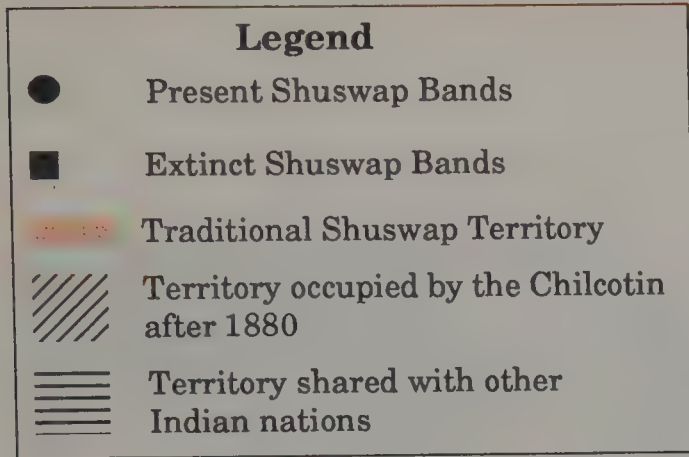
The missionaries had the most drastic effect on the Shuswaps. In 1842, Father Desmet met the Shuswap people for the first time. The goal of the missionaries was to convert the Indian people to Christianity and a European way of life—to "civilize". They didn't understand that the Shuswaps held beliefs that provided a harmonious life. Instead, they believed that they could force Indian children to adopt a totally new and foreign way of living. By the turn of the century, several residential schools were built. Children were forced to attend and on threat of punishment, had to adopt the British customs and language.

The colonial idea that Indians were not equal citizens can be seen in government policy. In dividing up the wealth of the province, the Shuswap were limited to small reserves, while the homesteaders claimed large parts of Shuswap traditional territory. The Shuswap protested, but to no avail. In 1876, the Indian Act was passed which reduced Indians to wards of the state, with no means of defending their land.

The strength of the Shuswap people has been severely tested over the last 150 years. Through the effects of the gold rush, residential schools, and epidemics, the Shuswap lost their status as equal partners and were pushed to the margins of white society. Since the 1970s, the influences of the government and the church have been reduced and the Shuswap Nation is once again flourishing.

The Old One and Coyote created a balanced world for the Shuswap people to inhabit. They, in turn, were made responsible for the earth's care and were instructed to respect all living things.

Shuswap Nation Traditional Territory



1

Fur Trade



*Richard Basil from
Bonaparte (Stuctwesemc)
wearing the trademark of
the Shuswap—a fur hat.
(1864)*

Beaver hats! In the late 18th century hats made from the fur of the Canadian beaver were the latest fashion trend in Europe. Fur trading companies sent traders all over North America to buy furs from the native people.

When traders came into Shuswap territory, the early exchanges with the Shuswap people were peaceful and helpful to both groups. The Indians were already skilled trappers and had a system of trade. However, when the furs became scarce barely 12 years later, the friendliness changed to distrust. Finally, with few beaver and little game left, with an increase in strange diseases, and with the Shuswap experiencing a changed way of life, the relationship became one of hostility and violence.

In 1793, Alexander Mackenzie, of the North West Company (Nor'westers), was trying to find new trading areas west of the Rocky Mountains. He met Shuswap Indians near Alexandria. With the help of the Indians, he became the first white explorer to cross the North American continent. Mackenzie gave the Indians beads and tobacco in return for their help as guides.

Simon Fraser also employed the Shuswaps as guides. Like Mackenzie, Fraser worked for the Nor'westers. In search of a navigable route to the Pacific, he explored the Fraser River from Fort George in 1808. His guide through Shuswap territory was the chief of the Soda Creek band, Xlo'sem. Fraser described the Shuswap as "friendly, serious, honest and industrious."¹

In 1811, Alexander Ross and David Stuart, traders with the American Pacific Fur Company, wintered in Shuswap territory. They found the people friendly and willing to trade. The next year, Stuart returned to Kamloops and built Fort Shuswap, later called Fort Kamloops or Thompson River Post. When Stuart was ready to trade, 2,000 Indians, mostly Shuswap, gathered at his post. Trading was brisk and Stuart's last piece of cloth traded for 20 beaver pelts!

That same year, Joseph Laroque erected a trading post across the river from Stuart's post. Laroque built his North West Company post where the Kamloops reserve is today. The next year, the Nor'westers bought out the American Pacific Company.

Two other forts operated in Shuswap territory. Fort Alexandria opened in 1821 and Little Fort followed in 1851. Before these forts

BEAVER HATS

The beaver has two layers of hair. On the outside are long guard hairs. Under those is a layer of wool. To make beaver hats, the fur was scraped off the hide and processed into felt. The felt was then shaped with steam and sewn into hats. The pelt, with the long guard hairs still intact, was then used for other items such as coats.

BRIGADE TRAILS

The fur trade companies had to bring in trade supplies and send out furs. Ships would arrive at posts on the Pacific coast with trade goods from Europe. Large pack trains loaded with the yearly gathering of furs would meet the ships. These pack trains were called brigades and were made up of many men and their pack horses. The packers would unload their furs, reload with trade goods, and begin the long journey back to the Interior.

Before 1846 the brigades set out from Hudson's Bay headquarters at Fort Vancouver, near the mouth of the Columbia River. From Fort Okanagan they came through the Okanagan Valley to Kamloops. Then the brigades would continue north, past Little Fort, to Soda Creek. There, they loaded their supplies into canoes and paddled upriver to the many forts in the territory called New Caledonia.

In 1846, the British government agreed to give the Americans the Oregon Territory. The Bay then had to move its headquarters to Fort Victoria, and establish a new route to the Interior forts. Just as the Okanagan trail had followed established Indian paths, the new brigade route did, as well. The trail from Fort Kamloops to the coast followed a route close to today's Coquihalla Highway.

were built, many of the Shuswap had to make the long, hard trip through the mountains to trade at Rocky Mountain House.

In 1821, the Hudson's Bay Company took over the North West Company. The Bay then had total control of the fur trade.

The Company was well organized. The head of each trading post was called a chief factor. The chief factors kept records and notes of all trading and other events at their posts. From those journals, we have an indication of the effect of the fur trade upon the Shuswap people.

Trading went well at first. The traders' safety and survival depended upon the goodwill of the native people. Without the Indians' trapping skills, there would not have been a fur trade. In return, the trading posts provided a supply of useful, ready-made goods for the Indians.

The Hudson's Bay Company traders wanted beaver pelts, but they bought other furs such as squirrel, marten and wolf. The traders encouraged the Indians to leave their traditional activities and spend their time trapping. They made annual gifts of tobacco to each of the Shuswap chiefs. In this way, the traders hoped that the chiefs would encourage more trapping.

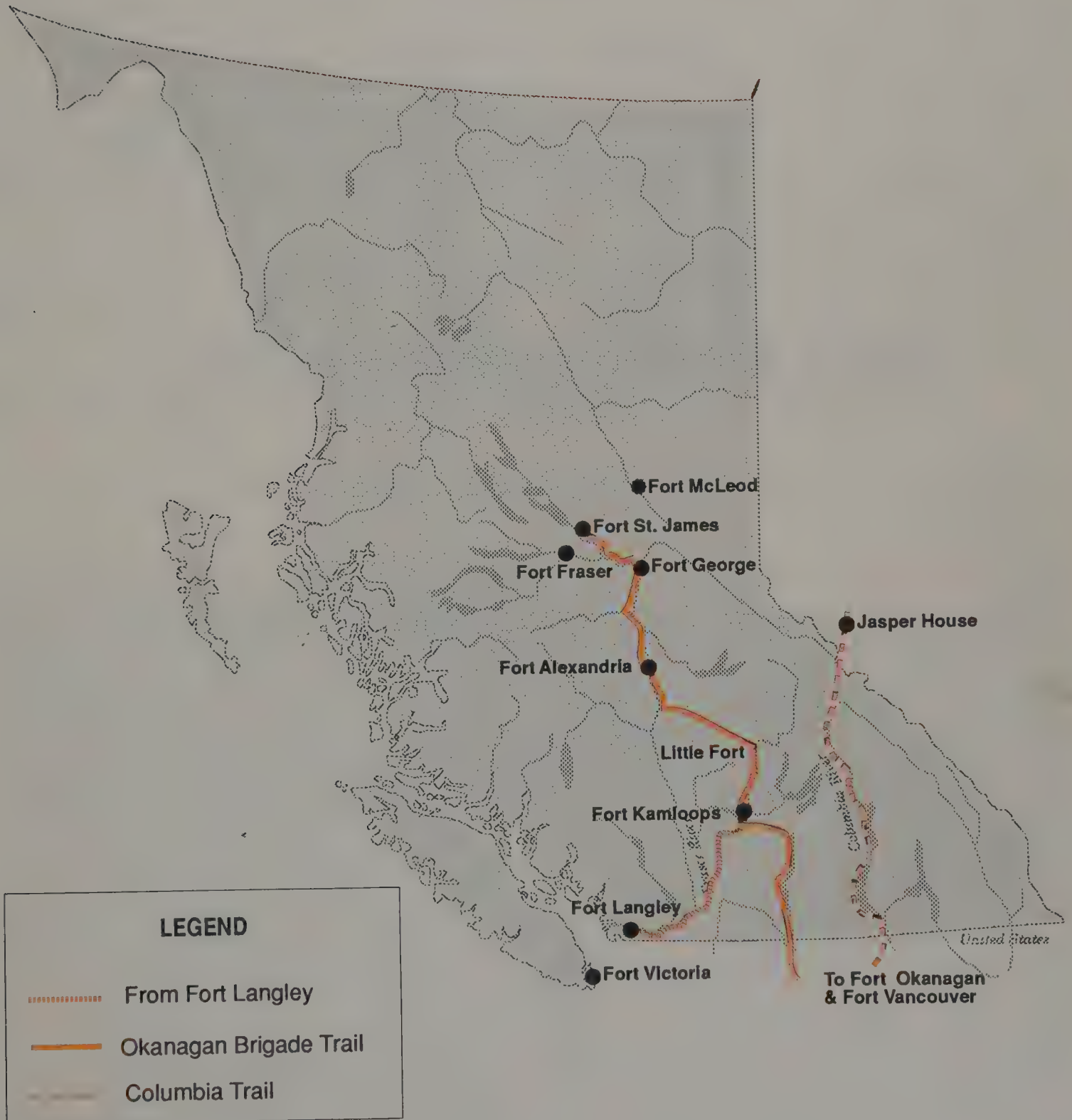
The Shuswap traded furs for guns, ammunition, American made war clubs, axes, traps, pots, pans, kettles, Hudson's Bay blankets and some foods. Among the items shipped from Fort Langley to the Interior in 1852 were 1,680 shirts, 850 pairs of pants and 3,288 yards of red and blue trade cloth. The 1855 shipment included 300 gross (12 dozen=1 gross) of brass rings and 7,000 pounds of tobacco! With few traders in the Interior, the Indians must have been the main consumers of these goods.

The Indians gained many items that made their lives easier, but traditional customs, laws and beliefs remained nearly unchanged.

European foods such as salt, sugar and coffee were introduced to the native diet. European utensils replaced baskets and native cutlery. The log cabin replaced the kekuli, or underground house, in winter. The canvas tent replaced the traditional summer lodges. The Hudson's Bay blanket replaced fur robes, coats, mats and bedding.

Within 10 years of the start of trading, major changes began to occur. The beaver declined rapidly. In 1822, 2,251 beaver skins were traded at Fort Kamloops. By 1825, that number had fallen to only 882 pelts. Much more alarming than the disappearance of the beaver was the disappearance of big game animals. As trading activity increased, over-hunting severely reduced the game population. The Hudson's Bay Company also needed hundreds of horses to transport trading goods. The use of rangeland for these horses forced many wild animals away from Shuswap territory.

Trails and Forts Around Shuswap Territory



The fur trade also brought changes in traditional territory. In the search for beaver, the Shuswap had to greatly expand their territory. For example, Peter Kinbasket led a band of Shuswap to settle in the Columbia Valley, far to the east.

Fur Trade Centre at Fort Kamloops



HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY TRADING STANDARDS

The Bay established rules and prices for trading which their traders and factors were to follow.

One of the rules was that no alcohol was to be traded. The company did not want disruptions to their trade.

Prices were measured in beaver pelts. A factor could look at his "Standard for Trade" to set prices acceptable to the Company. For example, 1 kettle might be valued as 1 1/2 beaver, 2 pounds of sugar as 1 beaver, and 1 gun as 13 beaver.

Competition for trapping areas led neighboring tribes and bands to set firm boundaries between their territories. The new boundaries were based upon the competitive nature of the fur trade, not upon the traditional land use of hunting and gathering. Therefore, the boundaries became more rigid and tribes would fight to defend them.

Shuswap society changed, as well. For example, the Hudson's Bay Company encouraged traders to take Indian wives. They hoped that the wives would act as interpreters and intermediaries in the interests of the Company. This mixing of cultures affected beliefs, customs and values of Shuswap society.

The family structure also took on a new shape as a result of the fur trade. Fathers spent fall, winter and spring away from their families. Mothers had to become the food providers, as well as maintain responsibility for the children.

With beaver becoming increasingly scarce, the men had to spend more time trapping for fewer returns. The Shuswap spent much less time at traditional hunting and fishing activities. Periods of starvation began to occur. As early as 1822, Fort Alexandria Chief Factor McGillivray reported food shortages.

As the beaver neared extinction, the Shuswap began to trade their salmon instead of furs. In 1827 McGillivray again reported that the Indians at Fort Alexandria were dying of starvation. In the same year, Chief Factor John McLeod wrote, "The natives all around us are actually in such a state of starvation that it is impossible that they can survive. Some are already dead . . ." ² In 1829 Francis Ermatinger of Fort Kamloops reported that the Shuswap people were starving. This was because of a poor salmon run and the time spent trapping instead of hunting. Other years of starvation followed in 1841-43, 1850-52, 1855 and 1859.

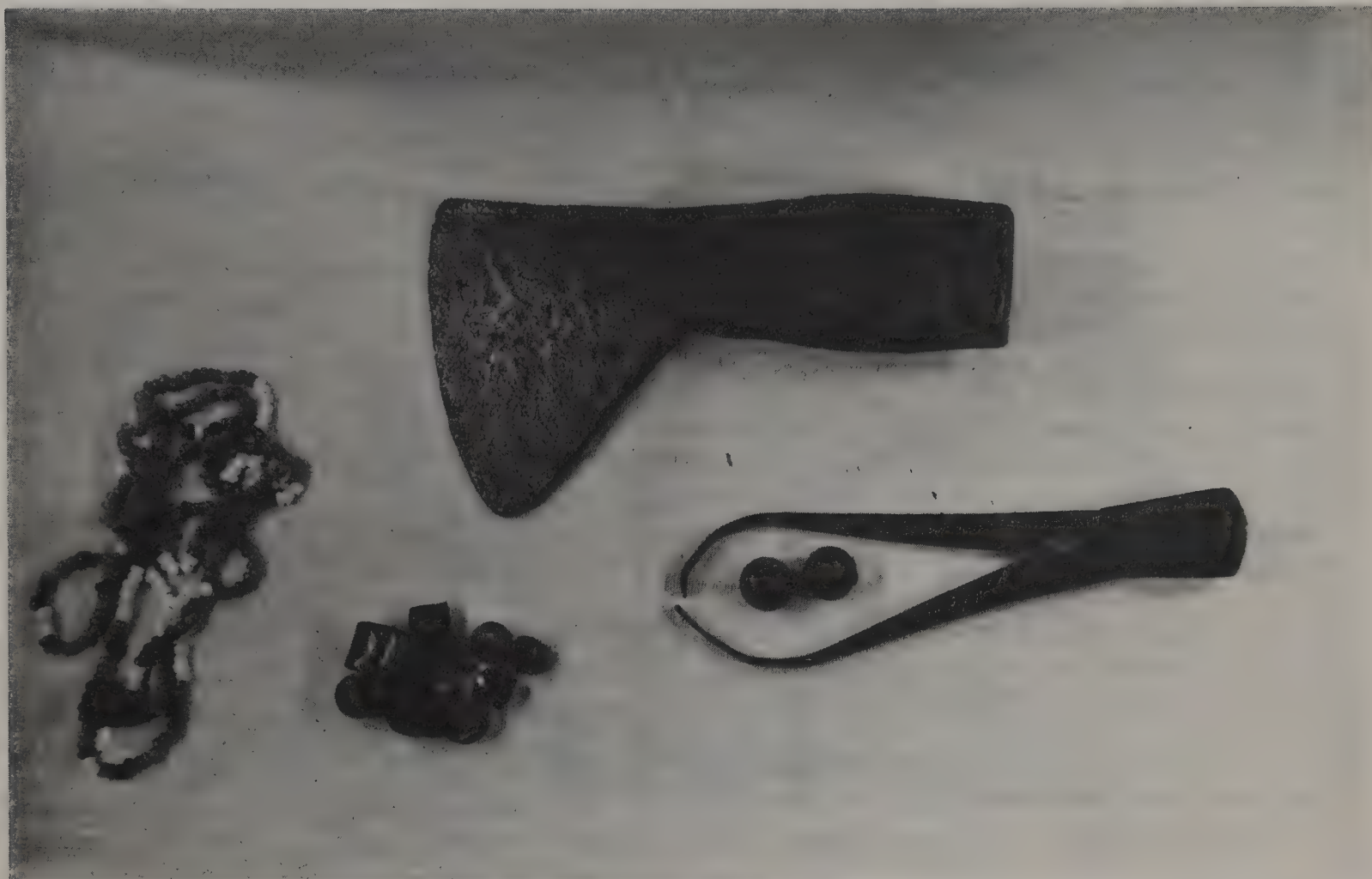
The scarcity of big game animals resulted in a shortage of raw materials for clothing and tools. This scarcity led to a greater dependence on European items from the trader. More time had to be spent trapping for fewer returns. Food reserves had to be traded for basic items when there were no furs to trade. This happened towards the end of the fur trade.

The Indians began to see that the fur trade was no longer to their benefit. However, a return to a pre-trader way of life was impossible, because of the depletion of so much wildlife.

After a dozen good years of trading, the relationship between the traders and the Shuswap people began to deteriorate. Bad feelings soon led to conflict.

The Kekuli was the Shuswap winter home. It had two entrances. The men's entrance was through the top via a notched ladder that can be seen in the picture. The women's entrance was on the side.





The Hudson's Bay Company brought many new items to Shuswap territory. (clockwise - Hudson's Bay Company Eye Dag #1 (axehead), Hudson's Bay Company musket ball mould and two musket balls, large glass trade beads and a bead necklace.)

Societies maintain order with laws. The Indians had their own system of justice, dispensed by the chiefs. With the arrival of the traders, there were now two sets of laws: traditional Indian law and Hudson's Bay Company law. Inevitably, there was conflict between the two.

The Hudson's Bay attempted to impose its system of justice upon the Indians. Hudson's Bay policy required that Indians who injured traders, or their property, be tried under European law. Penalties were often severe. However, this policy did not apply in cases of an Indian injuring another Indian. Nor did it apply if a trader injured an Indian.

A good example of this one-sided justice system can be seen by contrasting two cases.

The first case is that of trader Baptiste Montiningra. The Hudson's Bay Company journals noted that he shot and killed an Indian up the North Thompson River. The incident was of so little concern that it was not mentioned again.

When a trader was harmed, the Bay reacted in a much different manner. In 1841 an Indian, Kikoskin, killed Chief Trader Samuel Black of Fort Kamloops. Kikoskin believed that Black had influenced the death of his uncle, Kamloops Chief Tranquille.

Hudson's Bay clerk Donald McLean and 20 men immediately set out in search of Kikoskin. In an attempt to get the Indians to turn in the fugitive, a Hudson's Bay Company posse seized Shuswap horses and destroyed Shuswap property. This tactic did not work, so the posse resorted to kidnapping one of Kikoskin's children. Finally, the Hudson's Bay Company tried bribery by offering a reward. This third method worked. An Indian named Grand Gule gave away Kikoskin's hiding place, leading to his capture.

Kikoskin drowned before his return to the fort. There appear to be two interpretations of his death. One is that Kikoskin committed suicide to avoid being hanged. The more likely explanation is that the Indians administered their own justice, rather than submit to Hudson's Bay Company's law.

Black's replacement, John Tod, wrote in his journal, "Grand Gule was paid the goods he was promised for betraying the murderer into our hands." The Samuel Black incident shows how the fur traders attempted to impose their new system of justice.³

Resentment began to increase among the Shuswap people. Indians began to harass the traders. The violence grew worse each year. In 1843, an Indian killed William Norwick of Fort Alexandria. The traders shot the Indian before he could escape.

From a peaceful beginning, the relationship between the two groups developed into one of open hostility. In response, the Hudson's Bay Company rebuilt Fort Kamloops and erected an enclosure of upright planks. In spite of the new palisade, the Shuswap attacked the fort at least twice after 1843.

The Indians had to adjust too rapidly to the changes imposed by the Europeans. Before 1812, the Shuswap survived by hunting and fishing. For the next 15 years, their skills as guides and trappers were much in demand.

Miners and settlers replaced the traders in the 1850's. Again, the Shuswap had to adjust to new attitudes and new pressures upon their society and their lands.

With little experience as miners or ranchers, the Shuswap were pushed to the edge of the new economy. They were forced to take semi-skilled jobs as labourers and ranchhands. A complete return to the old way of life was impossible, but the Shuswap people adjusted and survived.



Shuswap winter footwear was made from moose hide and hair. The bottom had the hair on the inside for warmth. The footwear was waterproofed with goose grease and pitch.



The trade bead bone breast plate was used as a sash that was strung over the shoulder.

2

The Gold Rush and the Shuswap

Placer Mining Illustration



A number of Shuswap people staked claims of their own and hired other Indians as labourers.

The Shuswap Indians lived in a vast territory in the Interior at the time of European contact in 1793. At this time the Shuswap did not know their way of life was about to change a great deal. First came the few explorers and fur traders, followed by thousands of gold miners. Over 30,000 Americans, Europeans and Chinese came to the region in the next 60 years.

Early explorers and fur traders needed the goodwill and support of the Indians to set up trading posts and to explore the land. The Shuswap Indians outnumbered the newcomers and were the dominant culture until the arrival of the gold miners.

The gold miners trespassed on Indian lands and competed for food resources. They had little respect or tolerance for the Indians whom they viewed as obstacles. Clashes over access to gold deposits and ownership of the gold often resulted in death for both Indians and miners. With the coming of the gold rush, many changes were forced upon the Shuswap Indian culture.

There is evidence the Indians were aware of the presence of gold centuries before the miners arrived. Tomah, an Indian Hudson's Bay Company packer, spoke with Peter Dunlevy, one of the early prospectors. Dunlevy was impressed with Tomah's knowledge and use of gold:

"Tomah explained what the Indians did with the gold nuggets they found in the river, how they made trinkets out of them by beating and carving the pieces into shape. He said some of the tribes even had rings which were held for generations past." ¹

The first gold obtained by the Hudson's Bay Company was brought to Fort Kamloops by an Indian in 1852. The Indian was said to have made his discovery while taking a drink of water on the lower Thompson River. Donald McLean, the chief trader at Fort Kamloops, reported this finding to his headquarters in Victoria. The authorities there decided to keep the discovery a secret, so as not to disrupt the fur trade. The traders encouraged the Indians to mine the gold and use it for trade at the forts.

The Indians quickly realized the value of gold and began to mine it using iron spoons obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company. They did not have miners tools, such as gold pans or rockers, to extract gold from the sand and gravel bars. Only small amounts of gold were

traded. Gold was then worth \$17 an ounce, which was more than a Hudson's Bay Company employee earned in a month. Nevertheless, fewer than 4 ounces were sold at Fort Kamloops in 1856.

News of the gold deposits spread slowly at first. Then, in 1856, gold was found east of Shuswap territory in the upper Columbia River. Some 220 ounces were taken from the area that year. In 1857 many more miners rushed to the Thompson River area.

The intrusion of the white miners on Shuswap territory very quickly led to conflict. A report in 1857 by James Douglas, the governor of Vancouver Island and Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company stated:

"... the native Indian tribes of Thompson's River ... have already taken the high-handed, though probably not unwise course, of expelling all the parties of gold diggers ... who had forced an entrance into their country." ²

The Indians felt the gold was theirs as it originated from their lands. They also believed the activities of the miners would prevent the salmon from completing their migration up the Fraser and Thompson Rivers. Salmon was the main food source for the Indians and they blamed the miners for the salmon run being small that year. Rumours of gold deposits in the Thompson River quickly spread to the south. In the spring and early summer of 1858, over 30,000 miners, mostly American, rushed up from California to the Fraser and Thompson Rivers searching for gold. The miners raced to the sand and gravel bars to stake their 25 foot wide claims with the hope of quick riches. A few miners returned to Fort Victoria with over \$150,000 worth of gold, a huge fortune in those days. Gold fever struck and the mad gold rush was on!

The first difficulty to overcome was the transportation of food and equipment to the gold fields. There were four main routes from the south:

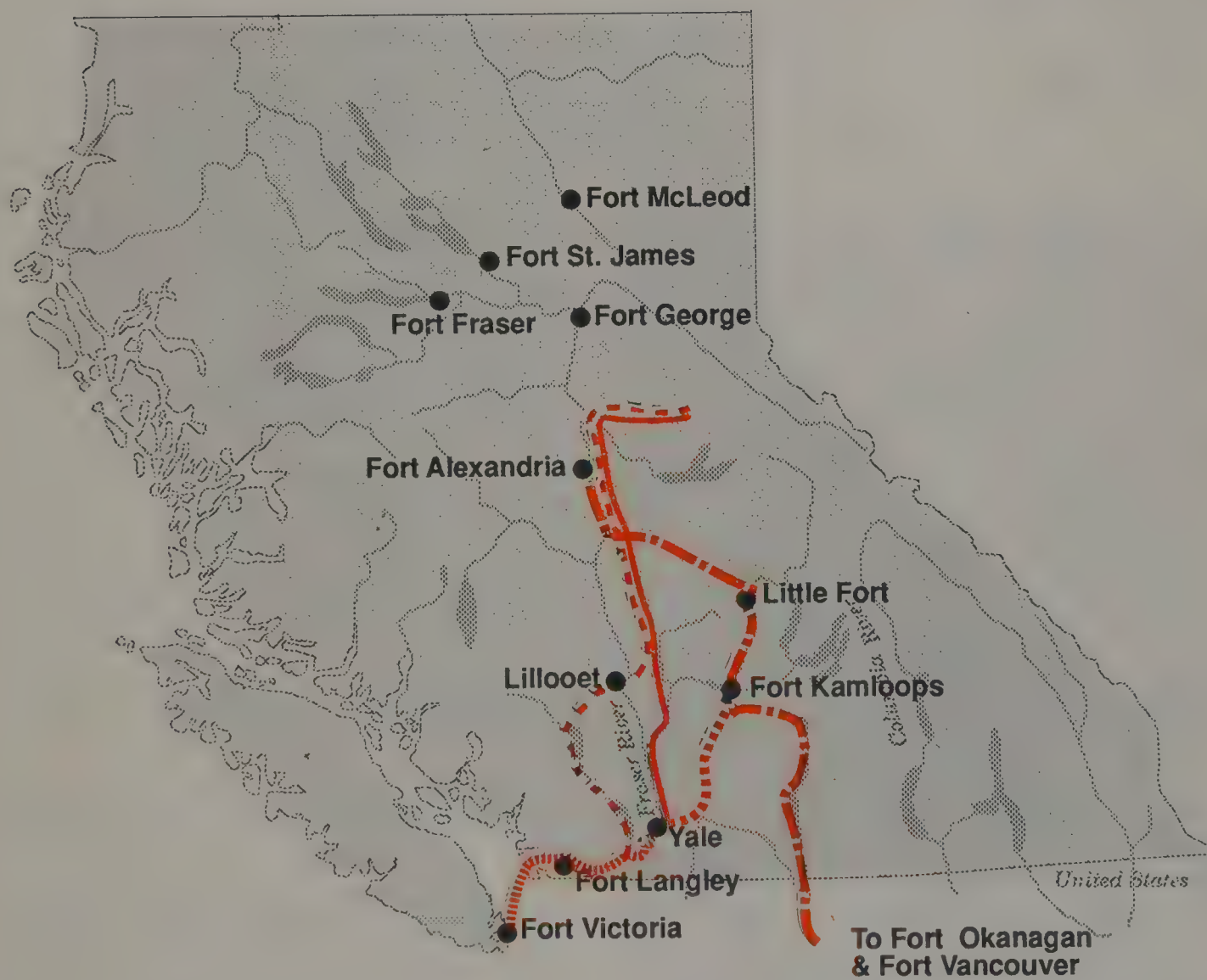
1. By sea from San Francisco to Victoria, by paddlewheeler to Harrison Lake, then north via the Harrison Trail;
2. By sea from San Francisco to Victoria, by paddlewheeler to Yale, then north on the Cariboo Wagon Trail;
3. By sea from San Francisco to Victoria, by paddlewheeler to Yale, then north via the Hudson's Bay Trail (present route of the Coquihalla highway);
4. By horse and wagon through Washington and north via the Okanagan valley on the Okanagan Brigade Trail.

The route through Washington and the Okanagan was the quickest, but also the most dangerous. The Cayuse War, between the Indians and American soldiers, began in 1847 and still raged in Washington Territory.

Gold Rush Trails

LEGEND

-  Steamer Route
-  Harrison Lillooet
-  Cariboo Trail
-  Coquihalla
-  Okanagan Brigade Trail



Most miners, discouraged by the Indian wars, took the sea route. In 1858, about 23,000 miners left San Francisco by sea to Fort Victoria. From there they travelled by paddlewheeler up the Fraser River and continued on the Harrison Trail or the Cariboo Wagon Trail to the gold diggings. The Harrison Trail was used first and was largely abandoned after the Cariboo Wagon trail was completed in 1863.

A number of miners did take the route through Washington. They formed 'companies' of about 200 men organized in para-military convoys, to travel the Okanagan Brigade Trail.

James Douglas worked for the Hudson Bay Company. He became the Chief Factor at Victoria and later governor of the colony of British Columbia. His wife, Amelia was a native woman.

Although there were no Indian wars north of the American border, some miners claimed they would "... clean out all the Indians in the land." ³

A company of about 300 miners, travelling north along the west side of Okanagan Lake, destroyed the winter provisions of an unattended Okanagan Indian village. The following day, they ambushed and massacred a group of unarmed Indians. These acts demonstrated the miners' hostile attitude towards the Indians.

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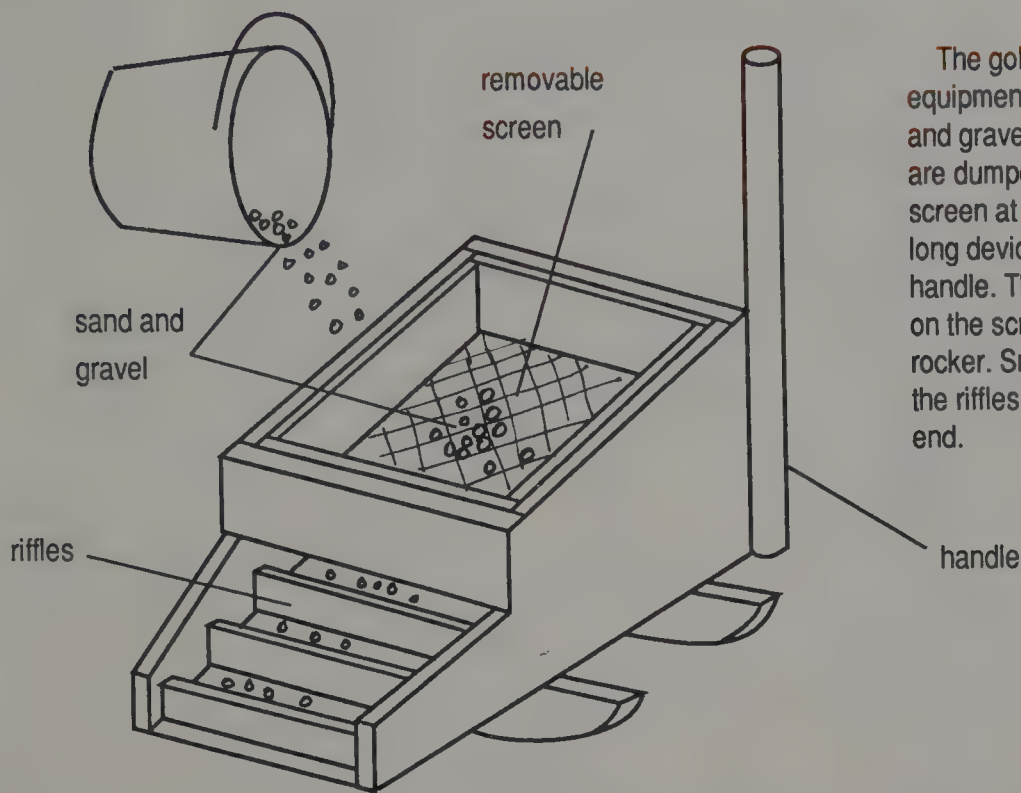
From the beginning, there was violence between the miners and the Indians. Much of the hostilities undoubtedly went unreported. The conflict increased as the population of miners mushroomed. By July of 1858 there were over 8,000 miners on a 60 kilometre stretch of the Fraser River.

James Douglas, whose wife was Metis, was governor of the colony on Vancouver Island at the time. Douglas feared a large-scale war between the Indians and miners. Douglas was also afraid that the recent victory of the Cayuse Indians over the U.S. troops in Oregon would encourage the Interior Indians to escalate the fighting with the miners.

Throughout that summer, trouble brewed at Hill's Bar on the Fraser River. There were 60-70 white miners and 400-500 Indians placer mining along the sand bars. The miners viewed the Indians as obstacles. The Indians felt the gold was theirs. Also, the traditional Indian food supplies of game, salmon and berries were being taken by the miners.

There was also fighting at Boston Bar. Over 140 miners were involved, and apparently 7 Indians were killed.

Gold Rocker Used for Placer Mining



The gold rocker was the main piece of equipment used to placer mine the sand and gravel bars. Gravel, sand and water are dumped in by pail onto the removable screen at the top of the rocker. The 1 metre long device is then rocked using the handle. This process makes nuggets visible on the screens at the top and inside of the rocker. Smaller particles are caught behind the riffles. The waste rock pours out the end.

A vigilante force of 167 armed miners, led by 'Captain' Snyder, went up the Fraser ready to fight Indians. Snyder hoped the show of military force would quell the unrest. By the time Snyder reached the confluence of the Thompson and Fraser rivers, the tension had eased enough to have peace talks with the Indians.

Douglas heard about the skirmishes and travelled to the area with some troops.

Governor Douglas' fact-finding mission blamed the miners for the problems. Apparently, the armed miners had driven the Indians from the gold diggings on the rivers. This action prevented the Indians from gathering food and mining gold. The Indians complained that the miners interfered with their village sites, took their salmon, were disrespectful to their women and shot their children.⁴

The Shuswap, Chilcotin and Carrier Indians met for games every summer at Lac La Hache. Events included horse racing, wrestling and gambling. At the games in 1858 the chiefs held a meeting with all present, including a small group of miners. The words were translated for the miners. Chief Dehtus of the Chilcotins spoke first:

"For some time our scouts have been bringing us news of white men coming up our rivers. We have tolerated these men thinking them to



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In the 1860s interior chiefs travelled to New Westminster to visit Governor Seymour. On this occasion, the chiefs were given gifts from Queen Victoria. Each chief was presented with a staff and axe-pipe which showed recognition of his status.

be weak-minded . . . we have found these men are not really crazy and are washing out little pieces of yellow stone they call gold and which they use as money . . . this money really belongs to us and the white men are taking it without asking us for it . . . We must keep these white men out.”⁵

Chief Lolo spoke next:

“It is just as useless for our three tribes to resist these white men as it is for one of us to try and resist. We know that our resistance would only result in needless bloodshed and possible annihilation.”⁶

Chief Williams, from the Williams Lake Band, spoke last and counselled peace with the white man. He advised speaking to Governor Douglas about the problems with the miners. Chief Williams probably saw peace with the white man as a practical means of safeguarding his people.

Chiefs from many areas expressed their concerns to Governor Douglas, who then wrote a report to the British government. The chiefs told Douglas that, when the miners first came from California, Indian people also began to mine for gold. Many more miners came and their people wanted to drive the miners away. Now there were so many miners that stopping them seemed impossible.

To help settle matters, Governor Douglas gave stern warnings to the American miners and prohibited the sale of alcohol to Indians. He also made royal claim to “. . . all mines of gold and all gold within the Fraser and Thompson River District to be the property of the crown.”⁷ Soon he would declare the mainland a colony of Great Britain.

Governor Douglas feared the miners would attempt to expand the American borders to include the gold digging areas. By 1858 there were over 20,000 American miners in the Interior. The miners sang a song which broadcast their wishes:

“Soon our banner will be streaming,
Soon the eagle will be screaming,
And the lion - see it cowers,
Hurrah, boys, the river's ours.”⁸

The eagle represented the Americans and the lion the British.

In order to prevent the Americans from expanding their borders, and to enforce British law on the miners and Indians, Douglas declared the mainland a British colony. This action ended the Hudson's Bay Company charter and control over the region.

In November of 1858 the colony of British Columbia was officially declared and Douglas was named its governor. He could now regulate law and order to protect British interests on the mainland and on Vancouver Island.

The Shuswap had lived on the land for thousands of years before the newcomers arrived. Now, however, the British crown claimed ownership over the entire mainland without Indian knowledge or consent. The seeds of conflict over ownership of the land were sown.

In February of 1859 Douglas brought about 400 trained soldiers to the colony. The show of military strength and the increasing numbers of whites moving into the area supported the British actions. This action further suppressed any large scale Indian plans to repel the invaders.

The miners moved on quickly and most left the Fraser River area and Shuswap territories during the winter of 1859. The majority of the miners did not strike it rich and returned to California or continued north. By the mid-1860s, gold strikes were made well out of Shuswap territory. The remaining miners went north to the Cariboo and to the Skeena and Omineca River areas.

The miners who came to Shuswap territory held attitudes about Indians that were very different from those of the fur traders. The traders needed the help of the Indians to make the fur trade grow and usually treated the Indians with respect. The miners, in their rush for quick wealth, saw the Indians as a hindrance. They competed with the Indians for gold, food resources, land and water access. The miner-Indian relationship was filled with conflict.

Some miners, however, developed long and lasting friendships with the Indians. For example, Dunlevy and two of his fellow miners married Indian women.⁹

Many Indian miners took part in the gold rush and some became wealthy. Some Indians served as packers, as guides or as casual labourers for other miners, while others worked as wage earners for the larger placer operations. A number of Indians staked claims of their own and hired other Indians as labourers.¹⁰

The gold miners were the forerunners of white settlement in British Columbia. The settlers, unlike the miners they followed, came to stay. One group of settlers, known as the 'Overlanders,' travelled overland through the Rockies from eastern Canada. Although many Overlanders intended to be miners, most arrived after the gold had already been mined in Shuswap territory. Many moved on, but some remained to settle in Shuswap territory.

Like the miners, the settlers had little respect or tolerance for the Indians. The conflict was clear. The Indians had the land and the settlers wanted it for farming, ranching and businesses.

The Shuswap traditionally migrated to different areas of their territory as the seasons changed. For centuries, this was their lifestyle and was necessary for their survival. The settlers believed the Indians were not making use of the land. More change was to be

forced on the Shuswap Indians as settlers arrived and took over the land. The ownership of the land remains an unresolved dispute between the Indians and the government even today.

As the newcomers increased in numbers, the Indian populations decreased. This was mainly the result of epidemics of fatal diseases compounded by food shortages and Indian-white clashes. By the mid-1860s, the Shuswap were no longer the dominant group in their own territories.

3

Disease Weakens the Shuswap Nation

VACCINATIONS

Smallpox became a problem in British Columbia in the early 1800s. After 1830, the Hudson's Bay Company began a program of vaccinations. The vaccinations temporarily slowed smallpox epidemics on Vancouver Island and the North Coast, but they were not continued on a regular basis throughout the province. In the case of the Shuswap, vaccinations seemed to be limited to periods when epidemics threatened. As the vaccinations had to be renewed every few years, most Indians were unprotected when epidemics arrived.

Bay Company traders used live scabs from smallpox victims for their vaccinations. The trader would use a knife to scrape or puncture the skin. A piece of a smallpox scab would then be rubbed into the wound.

This system had both advantages and disadvantages. The smallpox scabs were readily available, but the live virus could be very dangerous. In some cases, live virus vaccinations actually transmitted the disease. Partial drying of the scabs was said to be helpful, but the virus still had to be alive in order to be effective. A much safer cowpox serum had been developed in England, but it was not available in British Columbia.

John Tod, chief trader at Fort Kamloops, once used the threat of smallpox to secure provisions for his post. In 1846, Tod refused to vaccinate more than 70 Shuswap Indians until they had delivered a year's supply of salmon to his men.

The incident was recorded by historian H.H. Bancroft over forty years later. Although probably embellished by Tod's selective memory, it still illustrates his attitude toward the Shuswap.

"The last task given to the savages was completed, and there being no further cause for delay, the chief trader dismounted, and seated himself with royal dignity..." ¹

Tod ordered the Indians to bare their right arms and wash them in the river. He then used his pocket knife and a number of smallpox scabs to vaccinate the group, beginning with the chiefs:

"The knife was old and dull; the trader used it principally in cutting his tobacco and cleaning his pipe; therefore strength as well as skill was requisite in his rough surgery. I will not say that the trader derived no pleasure in thus driving the blunt blade into arms so lately raised against him, for he was human. Indeed, Mr. Tod admitted to me confidentially, that when the turn of a certain noted rascal...came, he did cut away more than was absolutely necessary, and did not perhaps feel that solicitude for the comfort of his patients which he ought to have done." ²

The arrival of the Europeans brought many changes to the lives of the Shuswap people. Within a single century, traditional lifestyles would disappear forever.

But it was not just a new way of life that threatened the native population. The greatest threat lay in the many new diseases which the Europeans brought to Indian territory. Diseases such as smallpox, measles, diphtheria, tuberculosis, influenza, and whooping cough took hundreds of thousands of Indian lives across North America. Just by his presence, the whiteman presented an unseen danger.

In British Columbia, the Indian population declined from an estimated 70,000 people in 1835 to approximately 28,000 in 1885—a span of only 50 years, or two generations.

These heavy losses weakened B.C. Indian tribes at the very time they were under the greatest pressure to surrender their traditions and beliefs. Some bands did not survive. Others were deprived of leadership, as a generation of chiefs and elders was lost. For most bands, the greatest losses were among the young, who were the hope for the future.

Why did so many Indian people die? Most had no resistance to the deadly new diseases. Many of these diseases had existed for centuries in Europe; some were no longer fatal to Europeans who had built up natural immunities through prolonged exposure. To the Indians, however, these diseases were new and life-threatening. Indians had no natural immunities to the whiteman's diseases. Their traditional medicines could no longer heal and protect them. For some, starvation further weakened their ability to resist.

In most cases, the Europeans did not intend to harm the Indians. Yet, even the most friendly and well-meaning European might introduce a deadly new disease into a native community.

In some cases, however, the actions of the Europeans actively encouraged the spread of disease among the native population. When epidemics broke out, white citizens were placed under quarantine to halt the spread of the disease. Indians exposed to contagious diseases were banished from the forts and settlements. Their trading camps were burned and they were sent home, spreading the infection to new areas. In at least one instance, a European trader sold blankets to an

DIPHTHERIA

For centuries, diphtheria has been one of the world's most serious contagious diseases.

Diphtheria germs grow on the throat and tonsils, causing a swelling of the throat. A thick, grey membrane grows over the swollen tissue. The membrane often becomes large enough to obstruct breathing. As the diphtheria germs multiply, they give off a powerful toxin (poison). The toxin enters the bloodstream and attacks the heart and other organs. The toxin can also paralyze important nerves which control swallowing and breathing.

In the past, Diphtheria usually killed more than 25 percent of its victims. Today, the routine immunization of new-born children has almost completely eliminated the disease in North America.

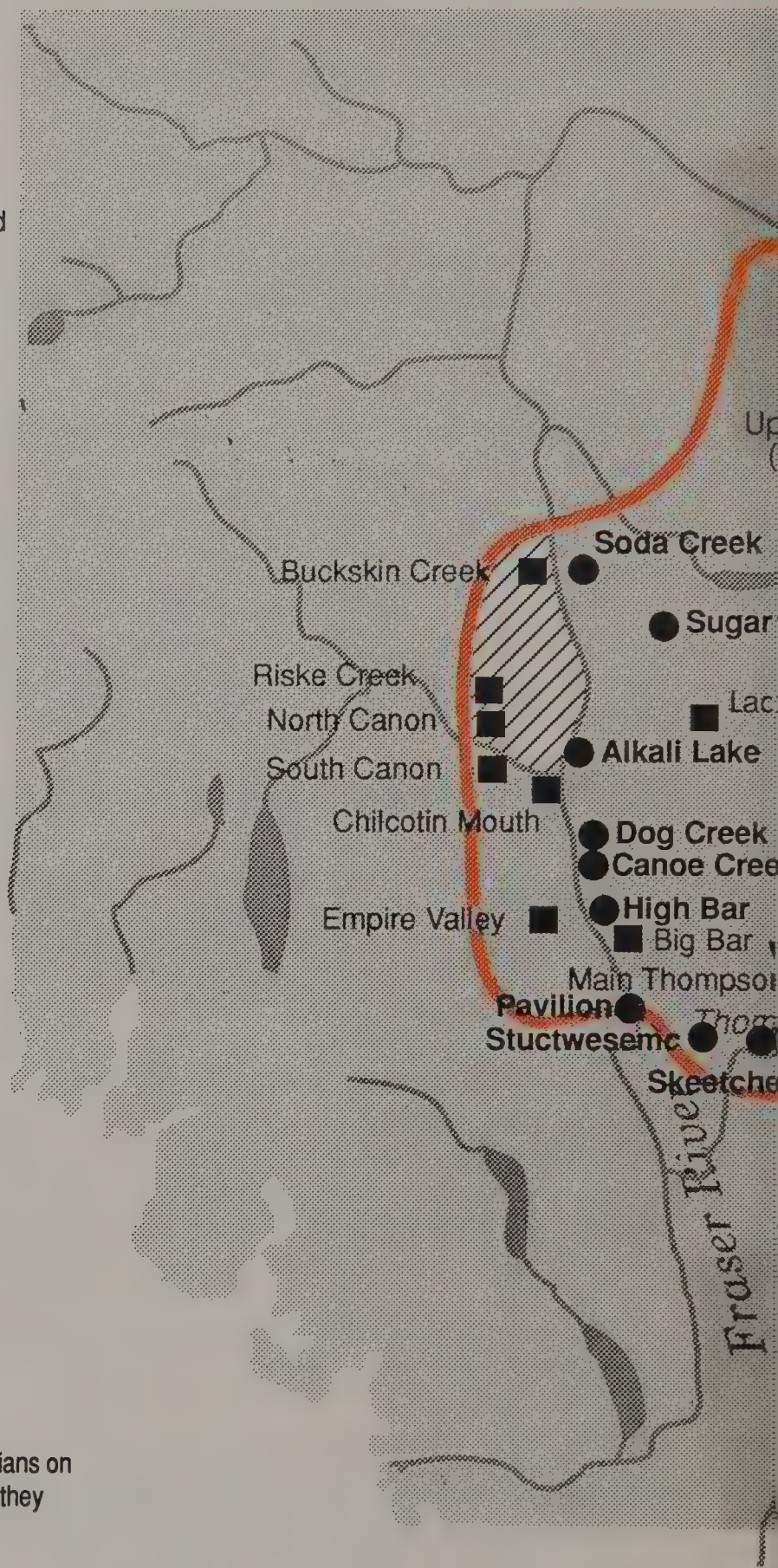
The Small Pox

Overlanders travelling to Kamloops in October 1862 found an encampment of dead Indians.

DOG CREEK, once a large band, lost most of its members.

The main Thompson lived on either side of the Thompson River. They were heavily hit by the smallpox epidemic and were nearly extinct by 1900. The few survivors joined the bands of Bonaparte and Deadman's Creek. (Stuctwesemc and Skeetchestn)

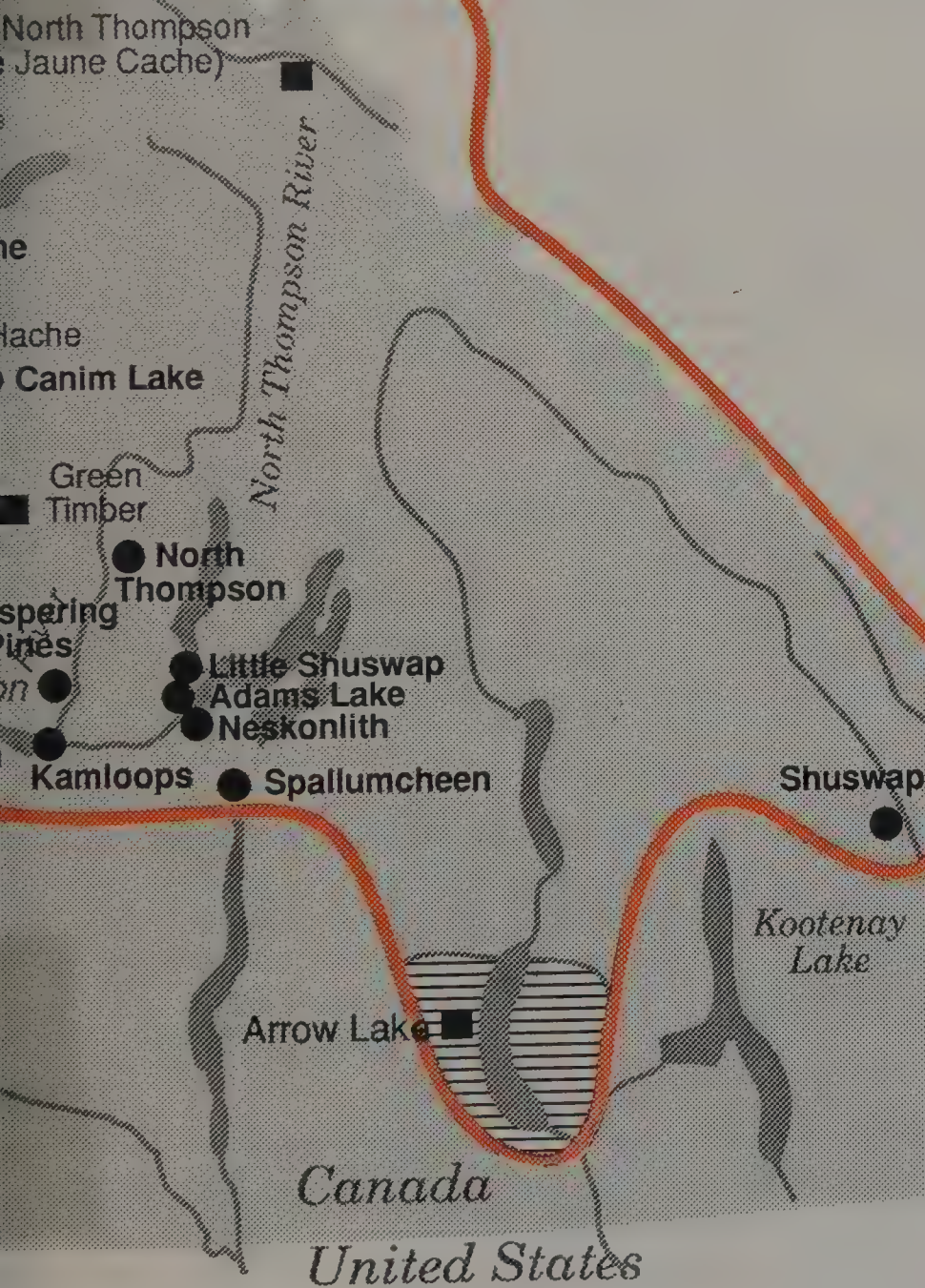
A party of prospectors reported seeing no Indians on the North Thompson river in the fall of 1862 for "they nearly all died of smallpox."



Seasonal fishing introduced the disease to the Shuswap Nation.

epidemic of 1862

CHIEF ADAM, whose name was given to "Adams Lake," died in the 1862 epidemic.



Gatherings of the Adams Lake and Shuswap River salmon runs helped spread the disease farther out.

William Manson, HBC trader, vaccinated a number of Indians near Fort Kamloops in June of 1862. Most Indians in the area were missed however.

Camps along the Fraser River
to Indians from all parts of the

WHOOPING COUGH (Pertussis)

Whooping Cough is a highly contagious disease that most commonly attacks children and infants.

In its early stages, whooping cough is hard to distinguish from an ordinary cold. Symptoms may include a runny nose, a slight fever, sneezing, and a dry cough. As the 'whooping' stage develops, coughing becomes so severe that the person cannot take a breath. After seven to ten explosive coughs, the victim gasps for air, making a long wheezing sound—or 'whoops.' The entire body spasms and vomiting frequently follows. A person may have as few as four or five attacks per day, or as many as forty in severe cases.

Whooping Cough can be fatal if it leads to hemorrhaging, convulsions or pneumonia. In epidemics, the disease has claimed thousands of lives at one time.

Today, children are routinely immunized against whooping cough (pertussis) and diphtheria in their first few weeks of life.

Indian band, knowing that the blankets had been infected with smallpox. In another case, infected blankets were robbed from Indian graves and sold to another tribe.

The first reports of Shuswap Indians contracting European diseases are found in the Hudson's Bay Company journals of 1827. Trader Archibald MacDonald reported that a case of whooping cough had broken out among Indians at the head of Kamloops Lake, killing a number of children. While details are sometimes lacking, a number of other diseases were known to have spread to Shuswap territory during the mid-1800s. In the winter of 1842-1843, for example, chief factor John Tod reported a deadly epidemic among Shuswap Indians living in the vicinity of his post at Thompson River (Fort Kamloops). The disease was characterized by a swelling of the throat and was probably diphtheria.

The most deadly disease to attack the B.C. Indian population was smallpox. By 1830 smallpox had become a serious problem on Vancouver Island and along the north coast of the mainland. Frequent outbreaks of the disease claimed a heavy toll of Indian lives. After 1835, the Hudson's Bay Company started a program of vaccinations that temporarily stopped the spread of the disease. Unfortunately, as the danger eased, the vaccination program was not continued on a regular basis.

In 1862 a terrible new smallpox epidemic broke out on Vancouver Island. Within a few months, the disease swept through the province, this time killing up to one-third of the remaining B.C. Indian population.

The epidemic began in Victoria in the spring of 1862. The disease arrived with a miner heading north from San Francisco. Hundreds of Indians came to Victoria each year to trade and the disease soon spread to the Indian camps on the edge of the city.

The actions of community leaders in Victoria assured that the disease would spread throughout the province. While the white community was vaccinated, or confined to isolation hospitals, Indians were ordered to leave the city. When many Indians refused to leave, their camps were burned. The Indians were driven to Ogden Point, beyond the city's outer wharves, where many Indians died. Most of the others fled for home.

As the Indians returned to their home communities, the epidemic spread out of control. Wherever they touched land, whoever they encountered, the disease was passed on. Within weeks, the epidemic had spread along the entire coastline of British Columbia and into the Interior.

By June 1862 the epidemic reached the Shuswap Nation. Few Shuswap Indians had been vaccinated. Until then, smallpox had not been a major problem for the Shuswap people. Hudson's Bay traders

SMALLPOX

The biggest killer of Shuswap people was smallpox. The disease was very contagious and spread easily through casual contact. A person could contract smallpox by inhaling the virus directly from an infected victim, or by coming into contact with blankets, clothing, or other articles used by the victim.

Smallpox usually began with a severe headache, high fever, backache, and chills. A blistering rash appeared several days later. The rash started on the face, legs, and arms, but often spread to the entire body. The pimples would fill with pus and cause severe itching. After breaking open, the pimples would dry, forming crusty scabs. Eventually, the scabs would fall off, leaving deep, pitted scars. Survivors were often left blinded or disfigured.

Smallpox plagued the world for centuries. Although the disease was never treated successfully, the Chinese developed a partially-successful method of immunization as early as 1000 A.D.. Scabs taken from smallpox victims were inhaled through the nose. If the scabs were properly aged, a mild form of smallpox resulted, creating anti-bodies which protected the patient for several years. If the scabs were too fresh, the treatment could result in a fatal infection.

Live virus techniques were also used in India. A needle, dipped in pus from a live scab, was used to make several punctures in the shoulder or forehead. The immunization often worked, but the treatment resulted in a high fatality rate.

Europeans borrowed these immunization techniques from China and India in the early 1700s. The first smallpox immunization in England took place in 1721. The live virus method continued to be dangerous and frequently led to outbreaks of the disease. In 1796 Edward Jenner developed a cowpox serum that provided lasting protection against smallpox without spreading the disease.

Due to shortages of cowpox serum, live immunization remained the common technique in British Columbia throughout the 1800's.

In the 20th Century, the fight against smallpox became more successful. By 1940 smallpox was under control in Europe and North America. In 1967 the World Health Organization announced a world-wide campaign to completely eliminate smallpox. Medical teams were sent from village to village around the world. Through a program of quarantine and vaccination, smallpox was defeated in country after country. In 1980 the World Health Organization announced the complete elimination of the disease throughout the world.

*Kamloops Indian Band
Graveyard.*



Shuswap Indian Population:

		Estimated Population About	Returns - Indian Department		
Band		1850	1903	1906	1989/90
Fraser River Division					
1.	Soda Creek band	300	81	81	251
	Buckskin Creek band (extinct)	50	0	0	0
2.	Williams Lake band	350	153	155	301
3.	Alkali Lake band	175	159	172	495
4.	Dog Creek band*	200	17	20	375
5.	Canoe Creek band*	250	161	163	
	Empire Valley band (extinct)	100	0	0	0
	Big Bar band (extinct)		0	0	0
6.	High Bar band	625	52	55	34
7.	Clinton band (Whispering Pines)		46	50	80
	TOTAL	2,050	669	696	1,536
Canon Division					
	Riske Creek band (extinct)	100	0	0	0
	North Canon band (extinct)	200	0	0	0
	South Canon band (extinct)	300	0	0	0
	Chilcotin Mouth band (extinct)	100	0	0	0
	TOTAL	700	0	0	0
Lake Division					
	Lac La Hache band (extinct)	100	0	0	0
8.	Canim Lake band	350	83	77	443
	Green Timber band (extinct)	100	0	0	0
	TOTAL	550	83	77	443
North Thompson Division					
9.	Upper North Thompson (extinct)	250	Estimated 70 or less	70	0
10.	Lower North Thompson band (Chu Chua)	500	130	130	461
11.	Kinbaskets (Shuswap)	150	56	62	176
	TOTAL	900	256	262	637

* Dog Creek and Canoe Creek merged in the 1920s.

1850 to 1989/90

		Estimated Population About 1850	Returns - Indian Department		
Band			1903	1906	1989/90
Bonaparte Division					
12.	Pavilion band	150	68	68	400
13.	Bonaparte band (Stuctwesemc)	400	158	160	500
	Main Thompson band (extinct)	151	0	0	0
	TOTAL	701	226	228	900
Kamloops Division					
14.	Deadman's Creek band (Skeetchestn)	350	116	122	300
15.	Kamloops band	550	243	242	627
	TOTAL	900	359	364	927
Shuswap Lake Division					
16.	South Thompson band (Neskonlith)	400	154	152	425
17.	Adams Lake band	400	189	194	480
18.	Shuswap Lake band (Little Shuswap)	200	83	88	230
19.	Spallumcheen band	300	140	150	480
20.	Arrow Lake band (extinct)	100	26	25	0
	TOTALS	1,400	592	609	1,615
GRAND TOTALS		7,201	2,185	2,236	6,058

TUBERCULOSIS (Consumption)

Tuberculosis is one of the world's oldest contagious diseases. Evidence of the disease has been found in Stone Age skeletons and in the bodies of Egyptian mummies.

Tuberculosis form small, rounded nodules ("tubercles") in body tissue. The "tubercles" attack the tissue and eventually cause it to break down. The disease has also been called "Consumption," because it "consumes" the body, causing the victim to waste away.

Tuberculosis usually attacks the lungs, but it can invade almost any part of the body. Tuberculosis may affect the kidneys, lymph nodes, skin, larynx, bones, joints, spine, sexual organs, or intestines.

Tuberculosis reached epidemic proportions in Europe and North America in the 1800s. The disease continued to be a major cause of death and disability well into the 20th Century. One of the highest percentages of infection was among Indian populations. The disease continued to be a serious problem for the Shuswap people until the 1950s.

had vaccinated a few Shuswap Indians during the 1840s, but the coastal epidemics had not spread to Shuswap territory. The vaccinations had ended and immunities had faded with time. A new generation had grown up with no immunities at all.

As the smallpox took hold, local Hudson's Bay Company officials tried to slow the epidemic. William Manson, company trader at Thompson River post, vaccinated a few Indians who lived nearby. Through the month of June, he vaccinated a group of Shuswap Indians who were camped along the South Thompson River, and any other people who happened to visit his post. The Shuswap Nation, however, extended over a vast territory. Even if Manson had doubled or tripled his efforts, he would have reached only a small percentage of the population.

Summer was the season of food gathering and migration. The disease spread quickly as the Shuswap ranged across their traditional fishing and hunting territories. By mid-July smallpox had reached the North Thompson River. Two weeks later, Manson reported the deaths of Chief Sill-pak-han and members of his band. Sill-pak-han was an influential chief who was friendly towards the whites. Manson greatly regretted his passing.

By early August, Shuswap Indians were dying in great numbers throughout the North Thompson River country. In September, Manson recorded the death of Chief Peter. In October, a party of Overlanders travelled down the North Thompson River to Kamloops. They found a deserted Indian camp with bodies lying everywhere. Later in the same month, prospectors returned from the North Thompson River to report: "There were no Indians on the North River, as they nearly all died of smallpox this year."⁴

The Chilcotin Nation, situated on the western boundary of Shuswap territory, contracted the disease from the Bella Coola. They, in turn introduced the disease to the Shuswap Bands of the Canon Division, on the west side of the Fraser. As other Shuswap bands gathered for the Fraser River salmon run, smallpox spread through their fishing camps. The disease then travelled eastward as families returned home. The salmon runs at Adams Lake and Shuswap River provided other meeting places where the epidemic was passed from band to band. By winter, no part of the Shuswap Nation remained untouched.

Many bands suffered heavy losses. Dog Creek — once a fairly large village—lost most of its members. Some bands could no longer survive on their own. The Buckskin Creek Band, situated on the west side of the Fraser River just south of Soda Creek, was nearly eliminated. Those who survived settled among the Soda Creek Band. Losses were so heavy among Empire Valley residents that survivors had to join the Canoe Creek Band. The Riske, Chilcotin Mouth, North Canon and South Canon Bands were virtually destroyed. A handful of survivors joined the Alkali Lake Band. The Main

Thompson Band, which was located on either side of the Thompson River below Savona, was largely extinct by 1900. The few survivors went to live with bands at Bonaparte and Deadman's Creek.

Only 17 of the 30 original Shuswap Bands survived. Following the great smallpox epidemic of 1862, measles, influenza, whooping cough and tuberculosis further reduced the Shuswap population. In just two generations, the Shuswap population declined by nearly 70 percent — from approximately 7,200 people in 1850 to 2,185 in 1903. At the same time, large numbers of miners and settlers moved into Shuswap territory. Some settlers gloated there would soon be no 'Indian problem,' for the Indians would all be extinct.

The smallpox epidemic devastated the Shuswap culture and society. Their numbers greatly reduced, the once strong and healthy Shuswap people became a vulnerable minority in their own land. Their bands, their beliefs, and their lifestyle were all under attack. With the deaths of so many elders, the Shuswap lost many centuries of accumulated oral history, skills, and knowledge. With the loss of so many great leaders, the Shuswap were less able to defend their lands and their culture from permanent change at the hands of the missionaries, settlers, and government officials. With the death of their young, the very survival of the Shuswap people was threatened.

PNEUMONIA

Pneumonia is a serious infection of the lungs. The disease causes the normally spongy tissue of the lungs to fill with pus and fluid, and become "solid." The infected person has difficulty breathing and suffers chest pains, chills and a high fever.

Pneumonia can be caused by either viruses or bacteria. Both forms are contagious and can be passed on to other people. The disease often attacks individuals who have been weakened by other illnesses, such as whooping cough, influenza or measles. Before antibiotics were developed in the 1940s, pneumonia killed about one-third of its victims.

4

The Missionaries

THE DURIEU SYSTEM

The Canadian government gave the missionaries responsibility to maintain social, economic, and political control over the Indians. The Oblate missionaries set out to achieve this goal through the use of the "Durieu System":

*"The Durieu System saw the creation of a Catholic Indian state in every willing Indian village. An administration was created under the direct authority of the Bishop, with local missionaries acting as the initial supervisors. The administration consisted of: the Chief and a sub-Chief, who were responsible for keeping undesirable white men (bootleggers) away from their people; one or two watchmen, who ensured that both adults and children attended religious instruction and did not return to forbidden Indian practices; policemen, who carried out punishments—collecting of fines or, occasionally, physical punishment for frequent repeaters—passed down by the Chief on those who lapsed into the old ways; catechists, who were responsible for teaching religious knowledge to both adults and children; and la cloche men, bell-ringers, sometimes known as ting ting men, who summoned the people to church three times daily."*¹

Long before European contact, the Shuswap people studied nature and lived by its laws. They practised conservation, using only what was necessary to feed, clothe, and house their families. They lived in balance with nature and in harmony with their environment.

The Shuswap people had their own spiritual beliefs. Life, for the Shuswap, included all living things. They believed that everything in nature had meaning and purpose. The people were connected, as one to the universe—through everyday life, through prayer, song, and dance.

Storytelling was used to relay the many lessons of life. The mythical transformer, Coyote, was the central figure of these legends. Each Coyote story explained some aspect of nature, or how some portion of the world had been created. Each adventure had a moral, instructing the Shuswap people how to live in harmony with nature and with one another.

The Shuswap people drew all of their materials from their natural environment, skillfully designing the tools and equipment needed for survival. As each new season approached, families worked together in preparation. All family members were considered equal, so everyone's skills and abilities were utilized in some way.

Elders and parents recognized a child's potential and helped shape the child towards adulthood. Growing up was a natural learning process. Boys watched and imitated the actions of the men. Throughout childhood, the boys were instructed and assigned small tasks by the older men. By the time the boys reached puberty, they were ready to face a test of their survival skills and of their preparation for adulthood. Sent into the wilderness alone for a brief period, they learned to approach the land with humility and respect.

On their return, the young men were expected to have learned the lessons of survival. They were greeted by the elders, who prayed that they might be good men and use their skills to benefit the entire community.

Girls received similar training, for total family participation was vital for survival. The members of the family relied on one another. Happiness and harmony depended upon this mutual support.

MISSIONARIES

Father Eugene de Mazenrod founded the Missionary Society of Provence in 1816 to bring religious teaching to the people in France. In 1826 Pope Leo XII approved the Society. Mazenrod changed the name to the Oblates of the Most Holy and Immaculate Virgin Mary. The Order's objective was to preach to the poor in the form of "missions." A mission consisted of a set of formula and sermons over a number of weeks. In 1841 the missionaries arrived in Canada and, by the following year, had arrived in Shuswap territory. Indian people who accepted the new Christian faith had to renounce all of their Indian ways, beliefs, medicine men, gambling and native celebrations.

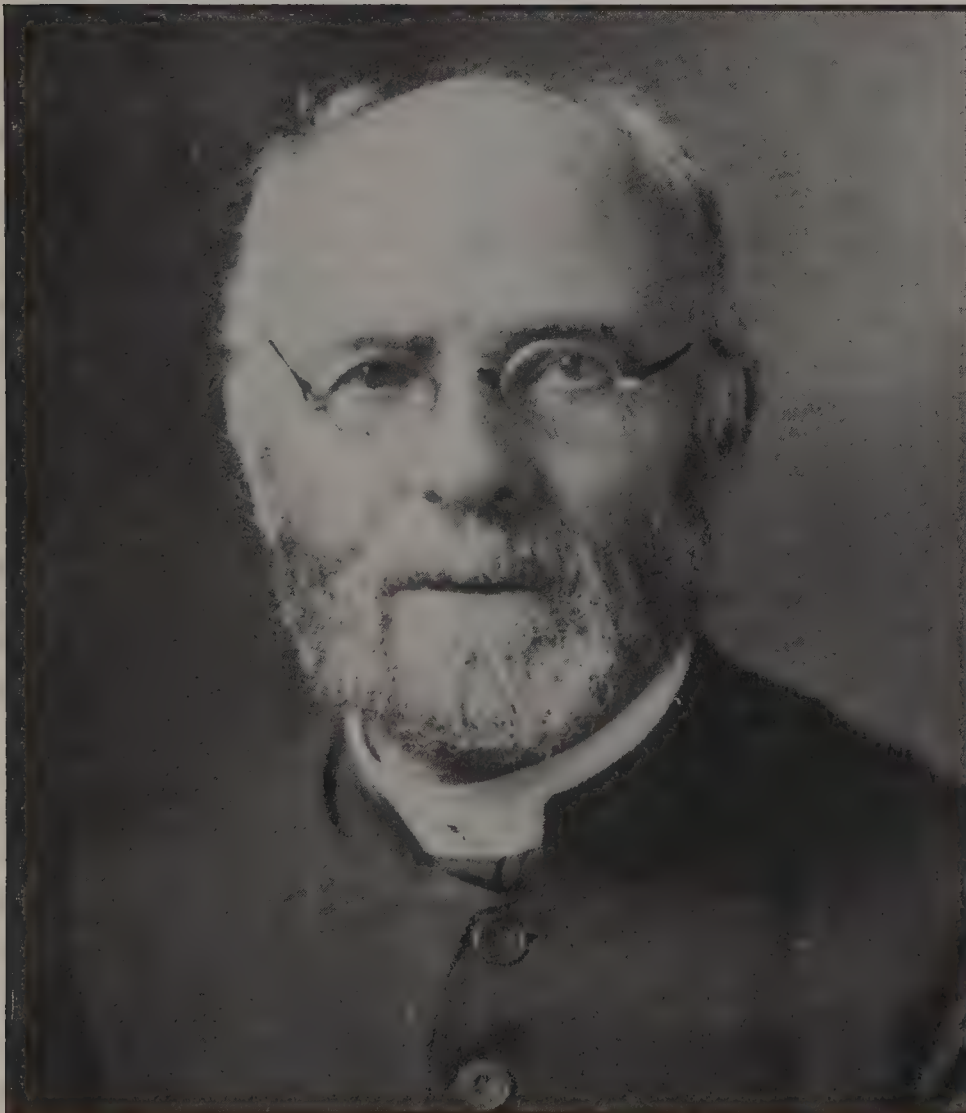
Prayer was the key to harmony. Spiritual beliefs extended from the family into the community, and covered such areas as education, medicine, economics, and politics. All things in life were part of one spiritual whole.

The influx of miners and settlers brought devastating changes to the Shuswap way of life. By the end of the 19th century, 70 percent of the Shuswap people had died from the whiteman's diseases. Most of the Shuswap lands had been taken and their lifestyle had been ruined. In the confusion that followed, the missionaries remained.

Prior to European contact, healers trained in traditional medicine had looked after the spiritual and physical needs of the Shuswap people. They conducted healing ceremonies, prescribed natural medicines, and acted as spiritual counsellors to maintain the physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual health of the people.

The suffering brought by the whiteman's diseases undermined this spiritual network. Although skilled in traditional medicines, the healers could not cure the new diseases. With death all around, the people lost faith and confidence in the healers. Instead, they turned to the missionaries, who claimed to have the skills and knowledge needed to save the Indian people.

Father Jean Marie LeJeune belonged to the Congregation of Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate. He oversaw the construction of the St. Joseph church on the Kamloops reserve in 1900.



The first missionaries arrived in the B.C. Interior in the mid-1800s. Most of the early missionaries were Oblate Catholic priests. Neither Canadian nor American, the Oblate fathers came to Canada directly from France, as part of a worldwide mission to convert the 'poor' peoples of the earth to Christianity.

The Oblate fathers made no attempt to integrate Indian people into the white religious community. Their missions were located well away from white settlements, yet close enough that local Catholics could be asked to finance their operations. Fertile land was also a requirement, to provide food and produce for the missions.

Father P.J. DeSmet, thought to be the first missionary in Shuswap territory, arrived in 1842. He was followed two years later by Father

Demers. Father Demers travelled north to the Williams Lake area, where he spent the winter months giving daily sermons and convinced the Shuswap people to build a chapel. In 1845 Father Nobli travelled through Shuswap territory from Fort Kamloops, having arrived from Oregon with the annual fur brigade. Other missionaries soon followed, among them Father LeJeune.

In 1867, St. Joseph's mission was established in the San Jose Valley, about 12 miles south of Williams Lake. The land was purchased by Bishop D'Herbomez after the site was selected the previous year by Father Charles Grandidier. Father Jayol and Brother Surel, newly-arrived from New Westminster, helped construct the first mission buildings. Using the mission as a base, the missionaries travelled to the surrounding Shuswap villages to preach.

In the early years, the missionaries travelled by horseback throughout Shuswap territory. Visiting every village, they succeeded in converting most of the Shuswap people to Christianity. Part of the missionaries' success can be attributed to their willingness to learn the Shuswap language and to the translations they made of Biblical hymns and prayers.

After 30 years of contact, the goal of the Oblate fathers was still to convert the remaining Shuswap people to Christianity. Government policy was about to change, however, and with these changes would come a new role for the missionaries. The new government policy was one of 'assimilation'—the gradual absorption of the Indian people into white society. The Indian people had to be 'civilized.' They had to give up all aspects of their Indian culture and accept the customs and beliefs of white society. An easy and inexpensive way to implement this policy was to turn the education of Indian children over to the religious organizations.

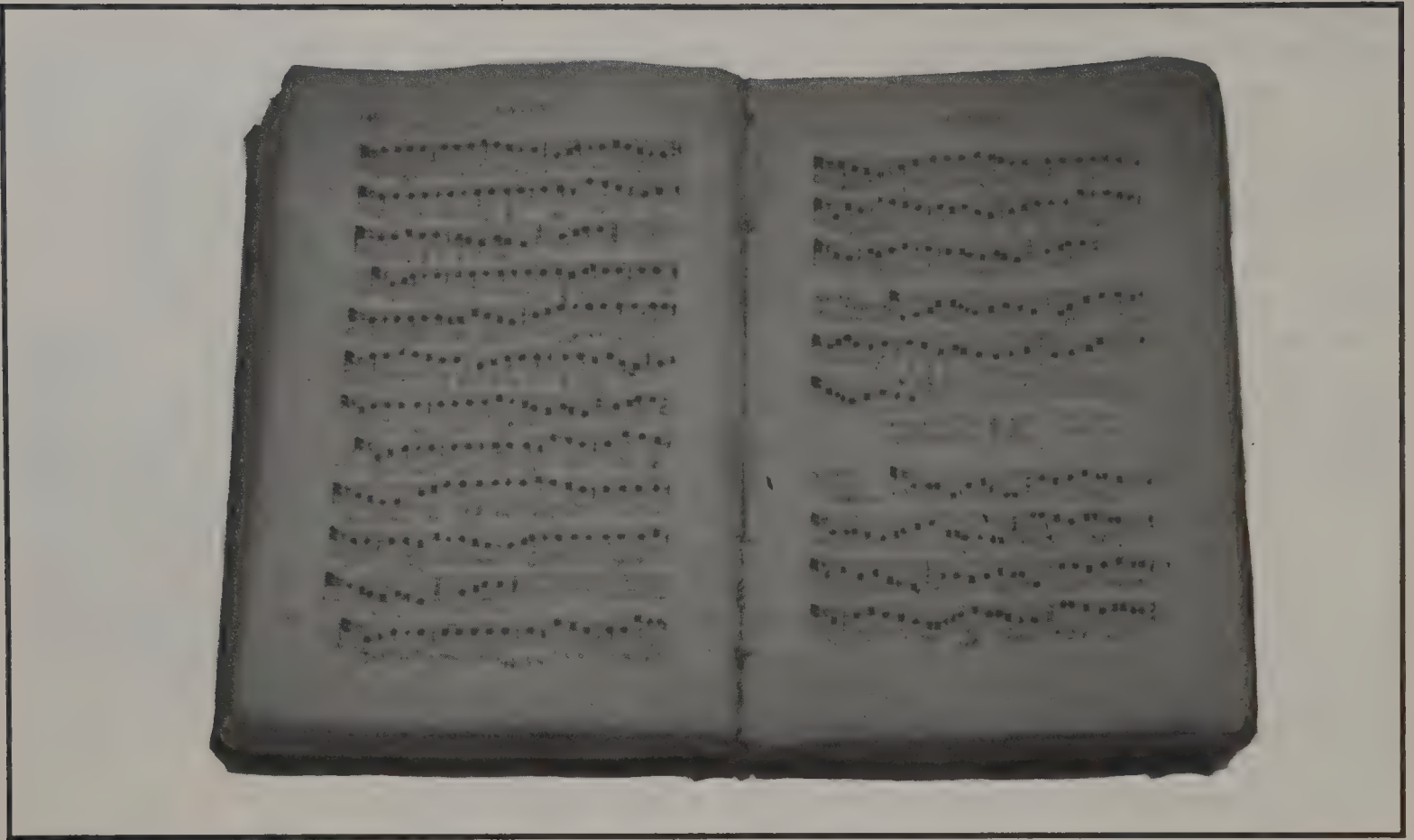
In 1871, the missionaries of St. Joseph's mission took on the new task of educating the Shuswap people. A day school was established which would operate for the next 20 years. It failed at assimilation, because Shuswap children returned to their traditional ways each day when they came home from school. Another day school was established at Kamloops, which met with similar results.

The missionaries decided a new solution was needed. Shuswap parents still had too much influence over their children.

A major new direction came with the passage of the federal Indian Act in 1876. The federal government now assumed responsibility for the education of Indian children. In the same year, the Canadian government sent N.F. Davin to study the system of Indian education then in use in the United States. On his return, Davin recommended that a similar system of industrial schools be established for Indian students in Canada. Here, Indian students would be separated from their parents and be forced to adopt the English language and lifestyle. In return, they would be taught a useful trade.



Man in traditional dress.



Father LeJeune, with the assistance of Shuswap people, published prayer books in the Indian language, English and Chinook jargon.

Davin's report led to the establishment of federally-funded industrial schools for Indian people across the country. As in the past, religious organizations continued to operate most of these schools.

Two schools were established in Shuswap territory: one at the St. Joseph Mission near Williams Lake in 1891 and the other on the north shore of the Thompson River east of Kamloops in 1890.

Once the industrial schools were built, children from communities throughout Shuswap territory were taken from their parents and forced to attend the boarding schools at Kamloops or Williams Lake. The students attended year-round and could visit with their families only during infrequent school holidays, or for a brief period during the summer. Parents could visit at Christmas and Easter. Those students who came from distant communities saw their parents only once a year. Children attended these residential schools for as long as ten years. In this way the residential schools led to a tragic breakdown of the family unit, the core of Shuswap society.

Discipline at the residential schools was very strict. Native culture was criticized and Shuswap children were taught to look down on the traditions of their families. Any practicing of native culture resulted in quick and severe punishment. Students were punished for speaking Shuswap with their fellow students. The use of strapping, head-shaving, and bread and water diets was commonplace. The missionaries believed such punishments were necessary to rid the

Shuswap children of their language and traditions, and to force them to accept the 'benefits' of white society.

School programs included daily religious instruction with very little attention paid to reading and writing. Each morning was devoted to religious instruction, while the afternoons were used for vocational training: farm labour for the boys, and kitchen, laundry, and sewing duties for the girls.

The goal of both residential schools was to train Shuswap children as farm labourers, semi-skilled tradesmen, or domestics. Shuswap children were trained to work at the most menial jobs in the labour force. They could never become doctors, lawyers, engineers, or professionals of any kind. They were denied a university education.

The residential schools left many bitter memories for the Shuswap people. The schools continued to 'educate' Shuswap children for more than 70 years. Yet, the residential schools failed in their attempt to assimilate the Shuswap people into Canadian society.

In spite of the many attempts to overwhelm its traditions and beliefs, the Shuswap culture had the strength to survive. Traditions and customs were practiced in secret. The culture moved underground. The relationship to the land was kept alive. The sense of community remained strong. The spirit of the people prevailed.

Examples of Contemporary Attitudes Towards Native Education

"The schools should be located in centers of white settlement. Not only would this sever familial connections but it would surround the children with the wonders of white civilization. And it would have the further advantage that Indians would be less likely to cause trouble if their children were under direct control of the state."

J. Macrac, Inspector of Protestant Schools in B.C. (1886)

[quoted in Redford (1979)]

"Before the gospel was preached by the Missionary, the natives were ignorant, superstitious, degraded, wild, and cruel."

Rev. W. Pierce (1896)

[quoted in Redford (1979)]

5

The Struggle for Land



BCARS HP57591

“When they [fur traders] first came amongst us there were only Indians here. They found the people of each tribe supreme in their own territory, and having tribal boundaries known and recognized by all . . . fire, food, clothing and all the necessities of life were obtained in abundance from the lands of each tribe, and all the people had equal rights of access to everything they required. You will see the territory of each tribe was the same as its life, and without it the people could not have lived.” ¹

These words, spoken by Chiefs of the Shuswap, Okanagan, and Thompson tribes in 1910, show the close relationship between the Indian people and their land. The land had been the basis of survival of the Shuswap tribes for thousands of years, and the loss of their land meant the death of the tribe.

Many non-Indians saw the importance of land to Shuswap life. Sproat, a reserve commissioner speaking of the Shuswap in the 1870s said, “I do not exaggerate in saying that some of these Indians die if they lose their land: they take it so much to heart.” ²

During the fur trade era, traders made only minor demands on the land. They used its food resources and built trading forts on small parcels of land. The traders, mostly French-speaking Hudson’s Bay Company employees, did not compete with the Shuswap for the land. The Chiefs stated, “[the traders] did not interfere with us nor attempt to break up our tribal organizations, laws, and customs . . . They acknowledged our ownership of the country, and treated our chiefs as men.” ³

The Shuswap treated the traders as guests. As an elder explained, “Guests who come into our country are pitiful. They have no home, so you allow them to camp nearby, you invite and feed them.” ⁴

Often, traders married Shuswap women and fathered children who became part of the tribe. These marriages forged close ties between many traders and the Shuswap people. Bonds of trust developed between these early French-speaking traders and the Shuswap.

Starting in the 1850s, the small numbers of fur traders were followed by over 30,000 miners and settlers. These new immigrants wanted land that belonged to the Shuswap. The relationship between the Indians and whites changed from cooperation to conflict.

The great chief of the Kamloops Band, Petit Louis (Hli Kleh Kan) led his community for sixty years, from 1855 to 1915. Chief Louis' leadership did much to improve the oppressed conditions of his people during the critical period of white settlement.



The first Indian land policies in British Columbia were the work of James Douglas. Douglas, the Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, became the Governor of the British Colony of Vancouver Island in 1851. The British Colonial Office told Douglas that, "measures of liberality and justice," should be used to compensate the Indians for their land. Yet, one month later, Douglas was told not to place Indian reserves where they might discourage future settlers.⁵

Governor Douglas wanted to keep peaceful relations with the Indians. His policy was to give the Indians whatever plots of land they chose and as much acreage as they wanted. The Indian people with whom Douglas made treaties, "thought that they were yielding to the white interlopers only the right to use the land."⁶ The idea of fee simple ownership was unfamiliar to the Indian people. Instead, they believed that the tribal group had ownership.

The British Crown did not recognize Indian title to the land. The colonial view was that the native people did not 'own' the land, but only had the right to use and occupy the land.

In eastern Canada and the prairies, a treaty process, based on the British Royal Proclamation of 1763, was used to settle Indian lands. The Proclamation recognized the Indians' right to land they occupied. The Royal Proclamation also stated that non-Indians could not use Indian land unless it had been surrendered to the Crown. The Crown gave certain gifts and rights, and set up reserves in payment for Indian lands in eastern Canada.

James Douglas, as Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor and Governor, used this treaty process for a short time, but it soon changed. After Douglas' term as Governor, the colonial government dealt with questions of land ownership in a way that favoured the settlers, not the Indians.

Douglas made 14 treaties with the Indians near Victoria, Nanaimo and Fort Rupert. These were the only treaties made during the colonial period, from 1851 to 1871. For about 7 dollars per family, the Indians gave up their title to 358 square miles on Vancouver Island. Douglas used monies from the Hudson's Bay Company as part of the treaties. Village sites and enclosed fields were saved for their use. Indians could hunt and fish over the unoccupied lands, as before.

In 1858, the British Crown cancelled the Hudson's Bay Company Charter to the mainland of British Columbia. At this time Douglas became Governor of British Columbia and was forced to give up his position as Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company. After 1859, Indians in British Columbia no longer received compensation for their lands. Reserves were made without treaties.

Douglas appointed Gold Commissioners to set the reserves in the Interior. He instructed them to give the Indians as much land as, "... may be severally pointed out by the Indians themselves." ⁷ William Cox, the Gold Commissioner at Rock Creek, made a reserve extending 6 miles up the North Thompson and 12 miles along the South Thompson, running back into the mountains. This land included Neskonlith, Adams Lake, Little Shuswap and Deadman's Creek.

However, Douglas did not properly record these reserves or have them staked off. This allowed future governments to reduce the size of most reserves. The reserve made by Cox on Shuswap land would later be reduced to a fraction of its original size.

In 1864 Douglas resigned. This date was a turning point in determining how questions of Indian land would be answered. Douglas had tried to be fair with the Indians. This attempt at fairness ended with Douglas' resignation. The men who replaced him held extremely negative views of native people.

Frederick Seymour, who became Governor in 1864, quickly showed how he felt about Indian people. Seymour, in his first major action, wanted to bring justice to some Chilcotins. They were accused of killings at Bute Inlet in 1864. He said, "I may find myself compelled to follow in the footsteps of the Governor of Colorado . . . and invite every whiteman to shoot each Indian he may meet." ⁸ Seymour would not act in favour of the Indians in the struggle for the land.



BCARS HP2101

Joseph Trutch, while Commissioner of Lands and Works, helped to establish Indian land policy in British Columbia. He maintained that Indian people were not entitled to land.

Joseph Trutch was appointed Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works in 1864. He was responsible for Indian Affairs as well. Trutch described Indians as, "Utter savages living along the coast, frequently committing murder amongst themselves, one tribe upon another, and among White people who go amongst them for the purposes of trade." ⁹

Trutch believed that Douglas had been too generous when laying out reserves for the Indians. To Trutch, the future of British Columbia was in farming and large parcels of land should be given to the settlers. He viewed the Indians and the lands Douglas had given them as obstacles to the development of the British colony.

In 1864, Trutch received a report on Indian land claims in the Thompson River area. The report stated the Indians were claiming large tracts of land which would stop settlers from coming to that area. These tracts were the reserves that William Cox had made under the directions of Governor Douglas. In 1866 a notice appeared in the Victoria Gazette saying the reserves of the Kamloops and Shuswap Indians had been reduced. Out of a 40 mile stretch along the Thompson River, the Indians were left with three reserves, each about 4 square miles.

Indian land policy had been changed to suit the interests of the settlers after Trutch took office. Little thought was given to the rights of the Indians. Trutch claimed that the Gold Commissioners who made the first reserves had not understood Douglas' instructions.

Trutch reduced the size of the reserves granted under Douglas. It is difficult to determine exactly how much land was involved. However, one of the surveyors who marked out the reserves stated the new boundaries would open up 40,000 acres for settlement. ¹⁰

Indian reserves were reduced to a maximum of 10 acres per family. Settlers could pre-empt 160 acres of land. Pre-empting land meant a person could settle on the land with the right to buy it before others. During this time, laws were passed to allow settlers to buy an additional 480 acres.

Trutch believed that Indians obtaining food and raw materials for clothing, shelter and industry were not making good use of the land. He felt that only farming, ranching and other 'European' uses of the land were worthwhile. Even when Indian people began to farm and raise livestock, European settlers claimed the Indians were not using the land. In fact, the Indians did not have enough pasture lands to graze their cattle. The lack of equipment and irrigation made this problem even worse.

As for paying the Indians for their lands, Trutch wrote:

"The Indians really have no right to the lands they claim, nor are they of any actual value or utility to them: and I cannot see why they

should either retain these lands to the prejudice of the General Interests of the Colony, or be allowed to make a market of them to the Government or to the individual.”¹¹

Still, reserves were granted to Indians which were later to be reduced. The sizes of existing Shuswap reserves in 1871 were:

Reserve	Acre
Adams Lake	1,000
Bonaparte Creek	471
Deadman's Creek	575
Kamloops River	6,000
Shuswap Lake	3,112
Shuswap Lake [2]	1,900
Spallumcheen	218.5 (3 parcels)

(B.C. Journals, "Return of Indian Reserves," 1st Parl. 2nd Sess. 1872-73).

In 1871 British Columbia joined Canada as a province. Indians were not involved in the talks of union. A motion to protect the Indians was defeated. One that suggested extending the federal Indian policy to British Columbia was withdrawn. There was no thought of giving the Indians the right to vote. In fact, in 1872 and 1875 laws were passed to specifically prevent Indians from voting. The only mention of Indians in the Terms of Union, the terms under which British Columbia joined Canada, was clause 13.

Clause 13 stated the province would be in charge of the Indian reserve lands. Also, the province would use, "... a policy as liberal as that hitherto pursued by the Dominion Government after the Union."¹² This meant the province would be as liberal with Indian land questions after union as it was before union. However, the Indian reserves were reduced by about 40,000 acres under Joseph Trutch in the years just before union.

How did the Indian people feel about government land policy? The Chiefs of the Interior said:

"They [government officials] have taken possession of all the Indian country and claim it as their own . . . They have never consulted us in any of these matters, nor made any agreement, nor signed any papers with us. They have stolen our lands and everything on them."¹³

The federal government in Ottawa did not agree with the Indian land policies of British Columbia. In 1873 Canada recommended that the Indian reserves should be based on 80 acres per family. The province of B.C. offered 10 acres. Finally, 20 acres was agreed upon. Native people were not represented at these talks.

The settlers were allowed to pre-empt 160 acres. This was increased to 320 acres in 1870. Land owners could buy more land if they could afford it. In this manner the land was slowly claimed.

The Indian people were treated differently. They had to take what was given to them. Prior to 1865 they tried to pre-empt land but a law was passed that made this impossible.

Indians had to obtain special permission from the government. After 1872 Indians were not allowed to buy or get free land grants like everyone else.

The confusion over Indian land rights and those of homesteaders continued to 1875. That year, a Joint Allotment Commission was formed to make Indian reserves. It had representatives from the federal government and the provincial government. There were no native members.

Over the following thirty years, the membership in the commission changed, but its mission stayed the same. By 1900 nearly all of the Indian Bands in British Columbia had received land for reserves based on the old policy of 20 acres per family of five.

The Indian people of British Columbia, including the Shuswap, protested the reserve allocation from the very start. Their means of defending themselves and their land received a devastating blow in 1876 when the Federal Indian Act was passed. In that Act, Indians were no longer equal citizens, but were placed under the Federal government's care.

The Shuswap protested against the taking of their land through petitions and delegations to Ottawa and London, but to no avail. The land claims controversy started in 1871 and continues today. The federal government maintains that the province must be involved in a settlement because it controls the natural resources. The provincial government still holds the belief that the federal government is solely responsible for any land claims settlements. There is no way to force the two governments to work together. The stalemate has lasted over 100 years.

The Shuswap look at the laws that prevented them from sharing in the wealth of the province, and want a settlement of their land. They feel that a land base would give them economic self-sufficiency and dignity.

Conclusion

The early history of the Shuswap includes several periods. The first period saw the end of a traditional self-sustaining lifestyle and the introduction of the fur trade. The trade benefitted both Indian and white people, with little noticeable change to their respective cultures.

The next period of history witnessed dramatic changes in Shuswap country. Between 1855 and 1862 two events occurred that had permanent effect on Indian people. The first event was the gold rush, the second the smallpox epidemic.

The gold rush brought thousands of miners with new values and beliefs. They believed that land and resources could be individually owned. Land was there to exploit, to make a profit. The Indian idea of sharing was pushed aside. At the same time, immigrants brought new ideas about Indians. The European newcomers did not believe that Indians were equal citizens with equal rights to the country's wealth. These Victorian beliefs were later used to establish official government Indian policy. For instance, after 1875, it was against the law for Indian people to homestead land, although the whiteman could claim land.

In 1862 the second historic event occurred. A smallpox epidemic spread throughout the Shuswap Nation. When it was over 13 of the 30 villages had been wiped out. And at least 75 percent of the people in the remaining villages died. The Indian bands were weakened and were not in a very good position to resist the pressure from missionaries and the government.

The colonial government did not believe that Indians were entitled to land and resources. The colonial land disposal policy did not follow the treaty making process that had occurred in all the other provinces. There are no treaties in B.C.

In 1871, B.C. became a province. The Terms of Union, by which B.C. joined Canada, confuses the issue of Indian land even further. This law states that the province would follow a policy, "as liberal as the policy before 1871."

The trouble with this confusing statement is that the colonial government was not liberal. Colonial officials did not have to give any land to the Indian before 1871, so it followed that they did not have

to give any after 1871. This one sentence has confused Indian land claims for over 100 years. The province still maintains that Indians are a federal responsibility and that the federal government should settle the Indian claims. The federal government wants the province to be involved because the province owns the land and resources that the Indian people are claiming. Neither side can force the other to settle land claims.

In 1876 the Indian Act was passed. This federal legislation reduced Indians to the status of wards of the state. This means that the federal government would be responsible for Indian people and their land. The Act was based on the idea that Indians could not look after themselves and must be protected from being exploited by white people. The Department of Indian Affairs was established to carry out this paternalistic policy. Federal government Indian agents were to have legal control over Indian reserves and Indian people. The Kamloops District office of the Department of Indian Affairs operated until the late 1970s. Only after much protest by the Shuswap people was the office closed.

The government of the last century firmly believed in assimilation. The men in power believed that Indians must not practice any of their own culture, but instead must adopt the whiteman's way. This was best done by separating the children from their parents and putting them into Christian boarding schools, one at Williams Lake and one in Kamloops. Physical punishment was used to force Indians to take on the whiteman's customs, beliefs and religion. Both schools were open for over 75 years. Although the Shuswap culture was suppressed, it survived. With the closure of the schools, children were returned to their parents. Communities are only now beginning the task of rebuilding their culture, and their communities.

In conclusion, the early history of the Shuswap must be studied if answers for today's dilemmas are to be found. The problems created by colonial Indian policies and residential schools are still felt today. It is significant to note that Shuswap people have not resorted to violence to settle their grievances. They have continuously protested, for over 100 years, the treatment they have received under the Indian Act and Terms of Union. Like the mythical coyote, the Shuswap have survived many disasters and hardships and continue to move forward.

SHUSWAP HISTORY

Timeline

- 1763 Royal Proclamation from Great Britain states that Indian land must be bought before it can be settled.
- 1793 Alexander Mackenzie of the North West Company meets Shuswap people near Alexandria.
- 1808 Simon Fraser of the North West Company travelled down the Fraser River and met Shuswap people from Soda Creek.
- 1827 Whooping Cough epidemic is reported by Archibald MacDonald.
- 1840 Father DeSmet arrives in the interior.
- 1841 Samuel Black, a Hudson Bay trader was killed by a Shuswap Indian.
- 1842 Father Demers arrives in Kamloops.
- 1843 William Norwick, a fur trader at Fort Alexandria was killed by a Shuswap Indian.
- 1842-43 Diphtheria epidemic is reported in Kamloops by John Tod.
- 1858 Gold Rush starts.
- 1858 Colony of B.C. is declared.
- 1862 Smallpox epidemic is reported.
- 1864 James Douglass resigns as Governor of B.C.
- 1864 Frederick Seymour becomes the Governor of B.C.
- 1864 Joseph Trutch is appointed Commissioner of Land and Works.
- 1867 Canada becomes a country.
- 1871 B.C. becomes a province.
- 1875 Joint Allotment Commissioner was formed to survey Indian reserves.

54 Timeline

- 1876 Indian Act is passed.
- 1890 Industrial School established in Kamloops.
- 1891 Industrial School established south of Williams Lake at St. Joseph's Mission.

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